

“ *C'est vrai*, Monsieur? and thereby they demonstrate the power of the poet (for poet we may call him); and *entre nous*, I doubt whether it is not more rational, as well as more fair, to dispute what the *denouement* ought to be before than after the inventor of the piece has disposed of it, as is the practice with us. When he has once finished his fable, you will find them all content, and the voice of criticism silent. Now in France or England, our critics lie *perdue*, in order to attack the poet, let him finish his performance how he may. But you will recollect, Monsieur, that in Turkey criticism is the honest spontaneous issue of the heart, and with us is a trade, where sometimes lucre, sometimes vanity, but oftener than both, envy and malice direct the decision, and dispose to cavil and censure.

“ But we will go again to-morrow,” continued he, “ probably he will be there to conclude or proceed further with his story;” I agreed to this and we parted.

On the next day we went, and not seeing the orator in his place, lounged about the caravanfera, and going to another coffee-house found him declaiming with all his might. My friend told me that the story he was now on was quite different from the former: however we watched his motions so effectually that we got the conclusion of the story of Cassim, which completely disappointed the prognostics of the two conflicting Turkish critics; for Cassim was neither bastinadoed, staked, or hanged, nor married to the cadi's daughter, but lived to see that extreme avarice was folly; and to be sensible that to make the proper use of the goods of this life is to enjoy them.

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LETTER XXXIV.

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MY last letter has shewn you, that the conceptions of genius, though they may want the aid of the press to bring them in full and perfect disclosure to the world, will yet burst through their bounds, and find some means of communication with mankind ; for though the art of printing be unknown in Turkey, the emanations of superior intellect and fancy find their way to the general ear through the medium of public declamation in coffee-houses. This letter will serve to shew you that malversation in office, public delinquency, and all those crimes of the great, which with us are cognizable by no tribunal but that of the public press, are not altogether so exempt from the lash and exposure of the satirist in Turkey, as the want of that great palladium of freedom would dispose us to believe ; and that, incredible as it may appear, the magistrates are held up to ridicule in public exhibition, satirised with all the extravagant vulgarity of coarse humour and unpolished wit, and exposed with all the bitter exaggerations of envenomed genius.

The French gentleman whom I mentioned to you in my last, as having procured me that pleasant repast at the coffee-house, called on me a morning or two after that, and reminded me how highly I seemed to be entertained ; said, there were often to be seen, by walking about and going into public places, a variety of things, which however worthless and un-



entertaining in themselves, might, from the novelty of their appearance, and their unlikeliness to any thing seen in Europe, serve either to divert by their oddity, or promote the conception of new ideas in the mind : he therefore recommended it to me, with all the zeal of a person who took an interest in my happiness, to keep on my legs and in the streets while I remained at Aleppo.

You will conclude that I readily complied, and we sallied out directly in quest of adventure. We proceeded, therefore, to one of the beforementioned coffee-houses, where, as my friend observed to me, though there were no people of great rank, there was generally something to afford contemplation or amusement ; and where, if nothing else occurred, the motley appearance of the company was sufficient to excite a variety of whimsical emotions, and suggest numberless ludicrous images to the imagination of an English or French man. As there was no orator at work declaiming, I had time to indulge myself with a more accurate view than I had before taken of the group that surrounded us : and surely never was ponderous gravity more ludicrously, or in more various forms depicted by any caricaturist in the world.—Here it was to be seen, in all its shadings, from the self-important nod of serious cogitation, down to the soporific aspect of stolid stupidity. Not a muscle was moved in way of mirth, not a face disgraced with a smile, and I could not help thinking all the time, that if every nation of the earth was to take some animal for its insignia, as the British assume the lion, and the Prussian the eagle, the Turks might be divided in their choice between the appropriate claims of the owl and the ass.

Soon after we entered, a band of what they called music, struck up a concert. And here again the notion of the owl and the ass struck me with increa-

sed force, as peculiarly presiding over their music : for no other combination of sounds that I know on earth, but the screeching of the one, and the braying of the other, could form any thing to resemble this concert, with which the aditory seemed vastly pleased, though I was obliged to betake myself to flight, in order to get relief from the torture it give me. The Turks, however, as I retreated, honoured me with a few remarks, which as I did not understand, I could not precisely feel ; my friend however told me, they were to the effect that we were Frangi Dumus (Frank Hog), and had no more ear than that filthy animal for music.

Come, said my friend, don't be discouraged !—But the music—the music ! interrupted I.—Well then, said he, the music, or rather the sounds were execrable to be sure ; they have at least served to establish this certainty, that there is nothing, however discordant or detestable, which habit will not reconcile us to. Doubt not, said he, that the best piece of Handel or Correlli, performed by the best band in Rome, would appear as ridiculous to them, as their concert did to us.

We visited many coffee-houses in the course of that day, in every one of which we found something to divert or disgust us ; at length as we entered one, my friendly guide turning to me with satisfaction in his countenance, said “ Here is something about to go forward that will please you better than the concert of music.” What is it said I ? A drama, returned he ; a drama, to you most certainly of a new and extraordinary kind ; and I do assure you that so zealous am I to procure you entertainment, I would rather than a couple of louis' you could understand what is going forward : your hearty mirth and laughter, added he, are sufficient to put one in spirits. He then directed my attention to a fellow who was busily employed



ployed in erecting a stage, which he accomplished in a time incredibly short. The light of the sun was completely excluded, and a puppet shew commenced, which gave great delight to all the audience, and ignorant as I was of the language, pleased me very much.

I was astonished when informed that one man only spoke for all the personages of the drama, for so artfully did he change his tone of voice, that I could have sworn there had been as many people to speak, as there were characters in the piece. The images were not actually puppets, commonly so called, but shadows done in the manner of Aftley's *Ombres Chinoises*. They were, however, far inferior to his in execution and management, though the dialogue and incident evidently appeared even to me, to be executed with a degree of the *vis comica* far superior to any I ever saw in a thing of the kind in Europe; indeed so perfect was the whole, that though I knew not a word of the language, I comprehended clearly the plan of the piece, and many of the strokes of humour contained in the dialogues.—The plan was obviously taken from a story which I have read in some of the Eastern tales, I believe the Arabian Nights Entertainments, and it is founded on the law of the country, that a man may repudiate his wife twice, and take her back again; but in the event of a third divorce, cannot retake her to his marriage-bed, unless she be previously married and divorced by another man. To obviate which, husbands who repent having divorced their wives a third time, employ a man to marry them, and restore her back again; and he who does this office is called a *Hullah*.—In the piece before us, however, the Lady and the Hullah like each other so well, that they agree not to separate; the husband brings them both before the *cadi* to enforce a separation; and the scene before the *cadi* was as ludicrous,  
and

and as keen a satire upon those magistrates as can well be conceived, though of the low kind.

The piece was introduced with a grand nuptial procession, in which the master displayed the powers of his voice by uttering a variety of the most opposite tones in the whole gamut of the human voice; sometimes speaking, sometimes squeaking like a hurt child, sometimes huzzaing as a man, a woman, or a child; sometimes neighing like a horse, and sometimes interspersing it with other such sounds as commonly occur in crowds, in such a manner as astonished me: while the concomitant action of the images, grotesque beyond measure, kept up the laugh; horses kicking and throwing their riders, asses biting those near them, and kicking those behind them, who retire limping in the most ridiculous manner; while their great standing character in all pieces, KARA-GHUSE (the same as our Punch), raised a general roar of obstreperous mirth even from the Turks, with his whimsical action, of which I must say that, though nonsensical, though indecent, and sometimes even disgusting, it was on the whole the most finished composition of low ribaldry and fun that I ever beheld.

When they come before the *cadi*, he is seated in his *divan* of justice; but as soon as the complaint is opened and answered, he rises and comes forward between the contending parties: here he turns to one and demands in a terrific tone what he has to say, while the other puts cash in his hand behind, and in proportion as the cash is counted in, increases the terror of his voice; he then pockets the money, and again turns to the other, and demands what he has to offer, while in like manner he receives the bribes from his adversary and puts it in an opposite pocket: this alternate application lasts till the purses of both are exhausted, when, giving a great groan, he retires on one side to reckon the money of each from a pocket he has on either



either side, one called plaintiff, and the other defendant; when balancing them, he finds plaintiff better by one asper (or three-halfpence) than defendant, and pronounces his judgment accordingly. The defendant appeals to the bashaw; they go before him: KARA-GHUSE (Punch) however, takes the defendant aside, and in a dialogue, which my friend assured me was pointed, witty, and bitterly satirical, develops to him the whole system of magistratical injustice, advises him to bribe the bashaw, and declaring his zeal for all young people fond of amorous enjoyment (which he is at some pains to enlarge upon to the excess of indelicacy), offers him the aid of his purse. The advice is followed; the bribe is accepted; the cadi's decree is reversed, and himself disgraced, and the mob at once hustle him and bear the Hullah home to his bride with clamours of joy. Here again the master shewed his extraordinary powers, giving not only, as before, distinct and opposite tones of voice, but huddling a number of different sounds with such skill and rapidity together, that it was scarcely possible to resist the persuasion that they were the issue of a large and tumultuous crowd of men and animals. With this extravagant *melange* the curtain dropped, and the performance ended.

Returning home we conversed together on the subject of the piece, which I confess I could not get out of my head for some time. My friend explained to me, as well as he could recollect, a great part of the dialogue, and assured me, that the freedom of speech of Monsieur KARA-GHUSE had from time to time created a great deal of uneasiness, not only to private offending individuals, but to the magistracy itself—that no offender, however intrenched behind power, or enshrined in rank, could escape him—that bashaws, cadis, nay the Janissaries themselves, were often made the sport of his fury; that he was not  
more

more restrained in the effusions of obscenity which he uttered, than in his satire; that he was always well received and applauded, even venerated (as we venerate the liberty of the press) as a bold teller of truth, who with little mischief does a great deal of good, and often rouses the lethargic public mind to a sense of public dangers and injuries. He added, that in some cases the magistrate had been obliged to interfere; and the bashaw himself was seriously called upon at times to stop the licentious tongue of this champion of freedom, KARA-GHUSE.

"Well then," said I, "it appears upon the whole that Monsieur KARA-GHUSE is a very great black-guard, but a very witty, and a very honest one."

"You have just hit it," said he; "and if Master Kara-ghuse was to take such liberties in France, Spain, Portugal, or Germany, all his wit and honesty would not save him from punishment. In England you do not want him; every man there is a KARA-GHUSE, and every newspaper a puppet-show."

"And yet," returned I, "we complain sadly of want of liberty!"

"That is natural," returned my sagacious Frenchman, "perfectly natural. Liberty is like money; the more we have of it, the more covetous we grow."

"Very true, Monsieur," said I, pleased with his compliment to our happy constitution, and to clinch his observation, gave a Latin quotation, which when a child I got out of Lilly's Grammar, "*Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit;*" and then changing nummus for libertas, "*Crescit amor libertatis, quantum ipsa libertas crescit.*"

"'Tis very well, Monsieur," said he; "and to carry on your allusion, may we not say, that they who do not know when they have enough, are as dangerously wrong in the one case, as those who say we have too much, are in the other? The English com-  
plaining



plaining of the want of liberty, reminds me of the coffee-house orator's story of Cassem, who, wallowing in wealth, lost it all in the wild pursuit of more.—I hope however that they never will, like him, lose their stock in vain endeavours to increase it."

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### LETTER XXXV.

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WHILE I was, in the manner I have already mentioned, endeavouring to pass away the time as cheerfully as possible, till a caravan was formed, or Company's dispatches were coming over land, of which I might avail myself; I found my situation in the house of Mr. ——— growing extremely critical. That gentleman, of whose good sense, and truly excellent disposition, I had too manifold proofs to call them in question, had, though fallen into the vale of years, married his lady at a very tender age. She was then young, beautiful, full of sensibility, and gifted with such natural endowments both of mind and person, accompanied with all those accomplishments which helped to dress them to advantage, that she might well be acquitted of vanity, even though fancy suggested to her she was fit to grace and confer happiness on a younger bed; while reflection on the obvious disparity of the match (which the cool temper of satiety possibly suggested to him) might perhaps have alarmed his mind to circumstances of probable danger, that, before wedlock, were all hid behind the deceptive veil of passion. Whether these were the

private

private sentiments that influenced both or either of them, I cannot presume to determine, though I think it probable: for I was not long in the house till I plainly perceived they were on a very bad footing with each other, and in short that disagreement was become habitual to them. At first, that is to say, for a few days after my becoming an inmate of their house, decency enforced concealment, and the ebullitions of peevishness were stifled by the dictates of prudence: but the animosities of the connubial state are those which of all others are the most impatient under control; and as time, by producing familiarity, relaxed restraint, the pent-up passions began to force their way, and open bickering took place in my presence.

It is but barely doing justice to myself to say, that I felt the most poignant concern at seeing a couple, each so perfectly amiable in all other respects, blasting the hours that should be given to harmony and love, in jarring reproach, and recrimination; and I would have given all I was worth that I had never had occasion to esteem them so much, or that I could give them that peace which seemed to have flown them for ever. Fain would I cast a veil over the whole transaction; fain would I bury it, even from myself, in oblivion: but it has been made by my enemies the subject of triumphant slander; and to do justice to myself, and disclaim the extent of guilt which they would impute to me, I am reluctantly obliged to avow the share I had, and declare how the matter really stood. I must speak the truth, and hope you will not conceive that I designedly lean too heavily upon any one, to ease myself of my share of the load.

Whatever domestic uneasiness may subsist between a married pair, the man, if prudent, will endeavour to conceal it; and the woman, if truly virtuous, will take care to do so: should great disparity of age (as in the

present



present instance) be the case, the lady is more particularly bound to conceal any uneasiness, lest it should be attributed to that cause which people are in such cases too prone to suspect, dislike to her husband; and before young men, above all, she should be most exemplary, as she must well know that their natural vanity, combined with the leading idea of her aversion and infidelity to her husband, suggest ideas to them from whence their warm imaginations draw inferences of a nature too pleasing to be parted with, and too probable not to be put in practice, or at least attempted. Here then a woman at once lays herself fairly open to the assaults of illicit love. I think it will not be denied, that the woman who promulgates the disagreements between her and her husband, particularly if she suffers a young man to be privy to it, is either extremely ignorant, or intentionally vicious, or both.

That the lady I allude to may in some respect be acquitted of this imputation, I must tell you, that she was only eighteen years of age; her tender, inexperienced mind had not yet arrived to that maturity which gives sound judgment; and though of good natural talents, highly cultivated (for she spoke fluently English, French, Italian, Arabic, Persian, and the Greek and Turkish languages), she yet was simple, innocent, uninformed in the ways of the world, and incapable of reasoning from causes up to consequences. But unfortunately that simplicity is attended with as much mischief, though not guilt, as the wilful misconduct of the more experienced; it has the same baleful effects with the hearers, inspires the same confidence, emboldens with the same hopes, and leads to the same pernicious practices.

I have already mentioned, and will now remind you, that I was then young. Perhaps it was owing to a congeniality pointed out by our age, perhaps to  
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a compassionate politeness amounting to tenderness, which I always disclosed on those unhappy occasions, joined perhaps to the ardent look of youth kindled by the imaginations to which this imprudent conduct insensibly gave birth, that the lady thought proper to take the very hazardous step of making a confidant of a young man and a soldier—and revealing to me the whole tale of her grievances, with a pathetic eloquence, that would have made an impression upon a much less susceptible heart than mine. I declare it most solemnly, that though this extraordinary mark of confidence and esteem communicated to my heart strong sensations of unjustifiable pleasure; I so far got the better of myself at first, as to receive the whole with the same appearance of tranquillity, as if I had been only a confidential female friend. I pitied, it is true;—I expressed my pity;—I advised, not treacherously but faithfully;—I said such things as occurred to me to be most likely to assuage and extinguish the flame of discord, and lead to an amicable adjustment; and I parted for that time with her to go to a self-approving pillow, where, while my fancy was inflamed and tickled by the flattering mark of regard shewn me by so all-accomplished a person, I had the soothing delightful consciousness of having, as far as I was able, done my duty, and escaped the corroding reflection of having violated the rights of hospitality.

Not an opportunity however afterwards offered, that the same unhappy point was not the subject of discussion, and unfortunately those opportunities but too frequently occurred; till at length we began to feel that they were the sweetest minutes of our lives, and were sought for with industrious avidity by both of us. No human resolution was sufficient to withstand such an unlucky concurrence of circumstances: from lamenting the grievances, we wished to remove them; from wishing, we proceeded to consider the means,



means ; and when we had got that length, the flight was not far to the extreme end—the execution of it. My passions hurried me before them, my expressions grew gradually more and more unguarded, our conversation became more interesting and warm ; and though I felt and struggled to be guided by the strict principles of honour, and formed a thousand resolutions not to transgress the laws of hospitality, by injuring the man who had treated me with such kindness, the struggle became too severe for me—the desire of pleasing a lovely woman, who had reposed such unbounded confidence in me, and who seemed to expect and require of me to alleviate her misery, at length bore down all the oppositions suggested by reason and principle, and I agreed to become the instrument of her removal from this unhappy situation. We fell—but not intirely. There is one length to which no earthly consideration—no allurements however dazzling could tempt me—it is now the most cordial consolation to my mind ; I never suffered myself to think of trespassing on the decorum of his house, nor did we in any single instance carry our intercourse to a direct violation of his bed. Though the transports of youthful passion hurried us into conversations and reflections on the subject of her determination to be separated from her husband, yet that passion was of too delicate a kind to sink into the brutal sordid indulgence of dishonourable stolen embraces. She wished for that separation, rather as a subterfuge from incessant diurnal misery, than as a prelude to any vicious or illicit enjoyment ; and we looked with pleasure to the event, but we looked no further.

It is thus that, in the down-hill path of vice, we are hurried on step by step, fondly imagining that each successive object, which bounds our sight, will stop our headlong career ; while alas ! every step we advance

gives additional rapidity to our descent: like the centripetal force of a projectile, our pace increases with uniformly accelerated motion—till disdaining all control, and breaking down every impediment that reason, morality, or honour throw in the way to rescue us or retard our ruin, we precipitate unexpectedly into the last gulph of vice and infamy.

Fortunately, however, an accident intervened in the present case, which arrested our progress down this hideous descent, and reserved us both I hope to conviction of our folly, and repentance of our error. And I have the consolation to reflect, that out of such a host of dangers and temptations as I was beset with, I have escaped without the actual perpetration of a deed, which would, had it happened, in all probability have embittered my life.

While we hugged ourselves in the security and secrecy of expressing our genuine sentiments, her husband discovered our wishes, and all at once took the necessary measures for preventing them. So that, overwhelmed with grief and shame, I directly formed the resolution to leave Aleppo, and proceed in the best manner I could on my destination.

Thus you see, my dear FREDERICK, was your father, by failing to resist the first impressions of an unlawful and dishonourable passion, insensibly led to the very brink of a precipice, the bare remembrance of which now makes him shudder with horror. The story, by means unnecessary for me to mention, took wind. The folly of some, the malice of others, and the unaccountable propensity to falsehood of more, trumpeted it about with many exaggerations to my injury, and I was held up as the deliberate seducer of innocence: but the whole transaction is exactly as I have stated it; and the disagreements previous to my arrival at Aleppo, which, in telling the story, they purposely left out, were of such public notoriety, that

every



every European, even the consul himself, was fully acquainted with them. This is the consequence of a deviation from the strict rule of right. Treasure it up in your mind, my child, never to be forgotten; and let it operate as a caution to you, how you entangle yourself in the snares of women: recollect that my escape was singularly fortunate, and the mere effect of accident; and flatter not yourself, that because accident served in one case it will in another. Providence has, for the wisest of purposes, implanted in our nature a fondness for the fair sex; and so long as it is used prudently and virtuously, it constitutes the first happiness of life; but if on the contrary, it stimulates us to excess, impels to injure our fellow-creature, or break in upon the repose of a family; it is our reproach, our shame, our curse, and very frequently our utter and irremediable ruin; add to this, that there is in the general character of women, a capriciousness, a levity, and a vanity, under the influence of which they sport with men, only to display their power, and evince the force of their charms, which makes the cultivation of their good graces in any way hazardous. To adopt the idea of an old epigram—"There is no living with them, nor without them."

As your happiness, my dear boy, is the first object of my life, my efforts shall be turned to the guiding of your greener years from any premature impressions; and when reason and matured age fit you for the cultivation and enjoyment of female society, be it mine to direct your steps away from that class, who think rank a sufficient sanction for vice, who flare in all the bronze of aristocratic assurance, under a load of obloquy, beneath which the poorest peasant's wife would sink; who think that wealth and rank confer a right to commit excesses that would degrade the meanest of the canaille; and felicitate themselves with

the reflection, that, under the protection of family or an infamous husband, they may indulge in enormities, for which the lowest of their sex are beating hemp in Bridewell.

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## LETTER XXXVI.

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THE discovery to which I alluded in my last letter, surprised and grieved me very much; and indeed it astonished me the more, from the manner in which it was communicated.

One day I received a polite message from the British consul, saying, he wished to speak to me as soon as possible, upon a business of great consequence. I thought at first, that it might be some plan for my proceeding on my journey—perhaps Company's dispatches that had arrived to go over land; and at intervals, something like apprehensions of the true motive of his sending for me flew across my mind. I however went to him, when, after some little introductory conversation, he told me, that my host Mr. ——— had been with him that morning, laying before him a complaint of a most extraordinary and serious nature, of which, as it immediately concerned me, he thought himself bound to inform me, in order that I might either contradict so gross a calumny if it were untrue, or find means to avoid the obviously necessary result if founded in fact.

He then proceeded to relate to me, that Mr. ——— had informed him of a conspiracy having been mediated



tated against his peace and honour, between his wife and the English gentleman whom he had entertained in his house; that their plan was nothing less than an elopement, and that he did not know how soon it might be carried into execution, if not timely prevented; and finally, that he had demanded the assistance of the consul and his interest with the Turkish magistrate to prevent it, by granting him an armed force for the protection of his house.

I was much surprised to find that conversations so very guarded as ours were discovered, and more so that the aggrieved person did not think proper to speak to myself, and charge me in person with the offence; never reflecting the while, that all my ideas were military, and his merely commercial: I was also much at a loss to conjecture how he came to make the discovery—but this I found afterwards he owed to a female servant, who had been improvidently intrusted by her mistress with the secret.

Finding, however, that by whatever means he became acquainted with the affair, it was a certain fact that he was apprised of it, I directly acknowledged the whole truth with the utmost candour to the consul; told him the affair step by step as it arose, assuring him (which I really thought to be the case) that pity for the lady's deplorable situation made me listen to such a measure; and that unlawful passion had so little to do with it, that in all our private conferences we had never transgressed the limits of purity; and that her person was, at least respecting me, and I firmly believed all mankind, spotless and inviolate. I added, that great allowances were to be made for a young creature barely eighteen years of age, consigned by the wickedness of avaricious parents to the embraces of a man of sixty-five; who, amiable and worthy though he was, in social intercourse with the world (which I knew him to be), was yet in the most indispen-

indispensable point of connubial felicity so utterly defective, as necessarily to create disgust and abhorrence in a youthful mind. I remarked to him, that, in the forming of laws, it as plainly appeared on their face, who made them amongst the English, as it does on the face of the Gentoo laws, that they were made by the Bramins: for, as by the latter the penalty of a few puns \* of couries (not value a shilling) is annexed to the perpetration of a crime, for which those of another class lose their lives; so, among us, it appears that our laws are made by the aged, the decrepid, the sensual, and the rich. Else it could never happen that there were in the same code, laws to punish marriage between the young and vigorous, and enable the brutality of a parent to take its full scope, and consign, as in the present instance, youth, beauty, health, and every personal attraction, to the arms of age, infirmity, and impotence. And I concluded by saying, that all parties aiding in such an unnatural confederacy should be punished.

The consul fairly acknowledged there was too much truth in what I had said; but remarked withal, that it was rather a hazardous experiment, and he was sure it would be an endless one, to correct all the abuses to which the fallibility of man, and his incompetency to form any thing perfect, necessarily left society and their laws liable—that the law was written, and it was the duty of every individual to obey it—and that in cases of adultery, the offence could be justified on no solid grounds whatever, for, independent of the feelings of the husband, which perhaps were more poignant in old age than youth, the injury to his family was not to be got over, in probably giving

\* Couries, a kind of small shells used in India, as a circulating medium in place of coin, in value much below the smallest copper coin—a Pun is a certain number of them.



to him an heir no way a-kin to him. "It would be right, I think," said he, "to stop such disproportionate matches; yet, once made, they should be as religiously observed inviolate as those of love, among which we almost as frequently, as in those of compulsion, see instances of infidelity. If you doubt this," said he, "read the records of Doctors' Commons."

I agreed to the justice of what he said, at the same time assured him, that my intentions went no farther than wishing the lady to be rescued from her thralldom, which I told him was dreadful.—"I am sure," said the consul, "that Mr. Campbell thinks so, because I am convinced he would not otherwise say so. But may not," said he, smiling, "may not Mr. C. have deceived himself? these are things in which the passions are strangely apt to hoodwink the understanding. However," continued he, breaking off pleasantly, "I must give you all the comfort that truth will allow me to do: I am sure that the poor lady is condemned to great wretchedness; partly from my own observation, partly from public report, and partly from her own mouth: for you must know she has several times complained to me of her husband's peevishness and tyranny; and even besought me to use my influence and authority to relieve her from her misery. Mr. ———," continued he, "is a man whom on all other accounts I esteem, and value highly. In this instance he has erred, and I cannot pity him, even though he suffers all the torments of jealousy: and as there are laws for punishing with death premature intercourse with the sex, I cannot see, any more than you, why the sacrificing youth to extreme old age should not be equally punished, for I am sure it is equally unnatural, and still more injurious to a state. These are my sentiments," continued he; "but let not this declaration induce you to think that I the less disapprove of your intermeddling. You have allowed

me the privilege of a friend, and I will not suffer it to be made an empty one. You were more culpable than many young men would be; first, because you are married, and should, upon the common principle of doing as you would be done by, have refrained; and next, because you were enjoying the sweets of hospitality in his house, and should have dashed from his lips, rather than held to them, the deepest cup of bitterness."

"But, my dear sir," said I, "I do not attempt to justify—I only endeavour to mitigate the matter, and you will recollect that the very circumstance which in one point of view aggravates, in another alleviates the fault: the living in his house afforded those interviews and exposed me to those temptations under which I was near sinking—I should never have sought them: but he must be more or less than man, that could have resisted them; and though I have a high sense of Mr. Consul's strict honour and virtue, as well as prudence, he must excuse me, though I doubt whether he could himself have resisted so long and so effectually as I did. I am sure there are many who will censure, that could not."

The consul smiled, and, turning the discourse from its direct line, observed, that it was absolutely necessary I should desist, else he would be obliged to use his influence and power to protect Mr. ———.

In answer to this, I gave him my honour in the first place, that I would proceed no farther in the business; and that, on the contrary, I was determined to set out upon my journey to India directly, if means could be contrived for my conveyance; adding, that I should consider it as a great favour, in addition to those I had already received at his hands, if he would contrive some means to set me forward in my route.

To this he answered, that as the making up of a caravan would be extravagantly expensive, he knew



no means that were not attended with certain hardship and eventual danger; but finding me determined at almost any danger or hazard to set off, he proposed to send for a man who knew every resource in that way, and when he came would talk farther on the business; and in the mean time, recommended great circumspection to me while I continued at Mr. ———'s house, to which I very solemnly pledged my word.

Being now constrained by every consideration, as well of prudence and decency as of inclination, to leave Aleppo immediately; I determined that no common impediments should stop me, and waited with impatience the arrival of the person on whom the consul rested his hopes of dispatching me.

He came in the evening, and after a conference with the consul, he introduced him to me, and acquainted me that he was a Tartar, and one of the vast number of that description who are employed by the Turkish state in carrying dispatches from court to the various viceroys and bashaws, and interchangeably between them again; that they were men on whose fidelity the utmost reliance could be had; and that this man, who had an excellent character, had agreed to take me to Bagdad, provided I would submit to the disguise of a Tartar.

The agreement between us I entirely submitted to the discretion of the consul, who had the goodness to settle it thus:—The Tartar was to deliver me safe at Bagdad; to supply me and my servant, who acted as interpreter, with an ample sufficiency of provisions and horses on the road; to exchange my horse for me as often as I pleased, and to go at such a rate, whether faster or slower, as I thought proper: for this he was to receive one hundred pounds; and I further promised, as an encouragement to him, that if he acted to my satisfaction, I would, on our arrival at Bagdad, add a *douceur* of twenty pounds.

The

The next day he came, and I had a distinct view of this my new fellow traveller and supposed master, for in several places I was to pass for his slave. He was one of those striking *character* figures that a painter would like to take a sketch of—and methought Tartar was written legibly in every lineament of his countenance and person.—He was tall, muscular, and bony—his figure bespoke great hardihood, strength, and activity—nor could the trowsers which he wore conceal the Herculean texture of his limbs—his shoulders were expanded to an enormous breadth—he was unincumbered with flesh, or indeed rather extremely lean—his forehead, though partly concealed beneath his turban, was very high—his nose large, hooked, sharp, and prominent—a pair of small, fierce, black, penetrating eyes, barely separated by the nose, and a formidable pair of mustachios, which he carefully sleeked with pomatum into a point resembling an awl-blade, and which moved like the whiskers of a purring cat, with every word he spoke, gave a whimsical ferocity to the countenance, beyond the reach of description, and rendered him altogether as discouraging a confidential friend, as ever a Christian trusted his life to since Mahomet first set up the trade of a prophet. He surveyed me with great attention—opened his mouth two or three times like a gasping pike, as if to speak—stroaked his whiskers as often—and at last pronounced that he would undertake to conduct me; adding, in allusion to my black hair and dark complexion, that I looked more like a native, than any Frank he had ever seen. He ordered me to cut my hair quite short, to provide myself with the Tartar dress and cap, in the fashion of his own; and saying he would call on me in proper time, departed.

Thus equipped, we set out, not without great pain and regret on my part; pain at leaving a most beautiful young woman, whom I pitied and esteemed, subject

to



to the resentment of a husband, at once jealous from nature, peevish from habit, and enraged from her open and unequivocal demonstrations of hatred and regret at having been betrayed by situation into such a very serious dilemma.

After my departure from Aleppo, this affair was represented in a variety of unfavourable lights to the different new comers from England ; and as a story is that commodity which of all others honest people do not love to steal any thing from, in its passage through their hands, it found its way in various forms (none of them however tending to soften it) to many of my friends and connections, those from whom of all others I wished to conceal it. Labouring under such calumnies, it cannot be considered as a violation of decorum, or unnecessary infraction upon delicacy, if I state the truth, in order, though I cannot acquit myself of censurable conduct, at least not silently to submit to unlimited calumny, and charges of crimes which I hope I have too much honour and integrity to commit.

I must add, that previous to my departure the consul did every thing that it was possible for him to do, conducive to my safety and accommodation on the road, which as we were obliged to go to the city of Diarbeker, a great length out of our way, he observed would be long, dreary, fatiguing, and hazardous ; he procured me from others, and gave me himself, a number of letters, and at parting desired me to comfort myself with the reflection, that when I arrived at my journey's end, I should have to boast, that I went to India by a route never travelled by an European before.



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 LETTER XXXVII.
 

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AS I became familiarised to my Tartar guide I found his character disclose much better traits than his first appearance bespoke, and I began insensibly to think him a very entertaining fellow : preceiving that I was very low spirited and thoughtful, he exhibited manifest marks of compassion ; and taking it into his head that I was actually removed for ever from my friends and my family, he spoke in a style of regret and feeling, that did great honour to his heart : and to say the truth, he did every thing in his power to alleviate my feelings, conversing with me, either by means of the interpreter, or in broken *lingua franca* ; supplying all my wants cheerfully and abundantly ; changing horses with me as often as I peased, and going slow or galloping forward just as best suited my inclination or humour.

The first object he seemed to have in view on our journey, was to impress me with a notion of his consequence and authority, as a messenger belonging to the Sultan. As all those men are employed by the first magistrates in the country, and are, as it were, the links of communication between them, they think themselves of great importance in the state ; while the great men whose business they are employed in, make them feel the weight of authority, and treat them with the greatest contempt : hence they become habitually servile to their superiors, and by natural consequence insolent and overbearing to their inferiors, or those who being in their power they conceive to be so. As carriers of dispatches,

their



their power and authority wherever they go is in some points undisputed ; and they can compel a supply of provisions, horses, and attendants, wherever it suits their occasions ; nor dare any man resist their right to take the horse from under him to proceed on the Emperor's business, be the owner's occasion ever so pressing.

My feelings, which I can tell you were altogether of the most unpleasant kind, served as a stimulus to my mind, and increased my anxiety to get forward ; I therefore pushed on as fast as the horses, which were in general excellent, could carry me : and as we halted at a number of stages to get fresh horses and provisions, my Tartar guide had frequent opportunities of indulging his self-importance, and displaying his great authority and power. As soon as he stopped at a caravansera, he immediately called lustily about him in the name of the Sultan, demanding with an imperious and menacing tone of voice, fresh horses, victuals, &c. on the instant. The terror of this great man operated like magic ; nothing could exceed the activity of the men, the briskness of the women, and the terror of the children ; for the caravanseras are continually attended by numbers of the very lowest classes of the people ; but no quickness of preparation, no effort or industry could satisfy my gentleman ; he would shew me his power in a still more striking point of view, and fall belaboring them with his whip, and kicking them with all his might. I must confess I was much hurt at this extravagant abuse of upstart power, and was two or three times on the point of interfering ; but fortunately, recollected that it would neither be in character, nor have any good effect, and that if I presumed to speak, my guide would be obliged in my defence to give me a flogging in order to prevent suspicion.

This inconsiderate tyranny and cruelty, I had afterwards reason to believe, was by no means a part of his natural

natural disposition; but vanity, to which so many among us in Europe fall victims, urged him to excesses, which I dare say his heart privately condemned.

It was on the fifth or sixth day (I cannot precisely say which) after our leaving Aleppo, that we got to the city of Diarbeker, the capital of the province of that name, having passed over an extent of country of between three and four hundred miles, most of it blessed with the greatest fertility, producing, in the few cultivated parts, grain, fruits of various kinds, and silk in great variety and abundance, and abounding with as rich pastures as I ever beheld, covered with numerous herds and flocks. The air was charmingly temperate in the day-time, but, to my feeling, extremely cold at night.

Yet notwithstanding the extreme fertility of this country, the bad administration of government, conspiring with the indolence of the inhabitants, leaves it unpopulous and uncultivated. Diarbeker, proper, called also Mesopotamia, from its lying between the two famous rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and by Moses called PADAN ARAM, that is to say—"The fruitful Syria;" abounds with corn, wine, oil, fruits, and all the necessaries of life. It is supposed to be the seat of the Earthly Paradise, and all geographers agree that it was there the descendants of Noah first settled after the flood.

Insignificant as those circumstances may appear to mere calculators of profit and loss, it cannot be denied that they have a powerful and pleasing effect on the refined imagination. To be treading that ground where Abraham trod; where Nahor the father of Rebecca lived; and where Laban, to whom Jacob fled to avoid his brother Esau's resentment, and whom he served fourteen years for the love he bore to Rachel, was to me a circumstance productive of delightful sensations. How finely has that giant of the pen,

Johnson,



Johnson, justified those sensations in his Tour to the Highlands of Scotland and Western Islands;—describing his emotions on visiting the famous island of Iona, or Colombkill, he says—“ We were now treading that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion, would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses—whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy, as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue!—that man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the Plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.”

The city of Diarbeker itself is situated in a delightful plain on the banks of the river Tigris, and nearly at its head; it is one of the richest, most trading, strong, and populous cities in Asiatic Turkey; and is adorned with many piazzas and market places in the Turkish style, and a large magnificent mosque, formerly a Christian church; for Christianity flourished over this country so late as the sixth century. There is even now a sect, whose patriarch still resides here: and they shew on the road near the town, a chapel where the holy man Job is said to be buried. This city is supplied amply with water by a canal cut from the Tigris, and has many caravanseras on both sides of the river.

Few countries in the world exceed that about this city for natural richness and beauty:—the bread and wine are excellent—the fruit beyond conception delicious

cious—and my friend the Tartar took care, under pretence of supercilious *hauteur*, to tear in pieces a couple of fowls, and hand me now a leg, now a wing, till I made the most delicious repast I ever remember to have eat in my life.

It is computed that there are resident in this city no less than twenty thousand Christian inhabitants, some of whom are of the Church of Rome;—and perhaps it is owing to that mixture, that the fair sex have more freedom, and the men more politeness and affability, than those of any other city in the empire:—the chief business there, is making that fine leather commonly called Turkey leather.

Figure to yourself, my dear FREDERICK, my Tartar guide, who was an admirable actor, sitting at a caravansera in state at his dinner, devouring excellent fowls, choice pillaws, and delicious fruit, in as great pomp as a balhaw; and in order to keep up the semblance of authority over me, to favour my disguise, handing to me, who sat at humble distance, a part of his provisions. You may form to yourself an idea of the scene; but all the efforts of imagination must fall short of the manner, the figure, the words, the looks, and the actions of the Tartar; sometimes affecting contemptuous pity, sometimes supercilious arrogance; sometimes brutal sternness, and sometimes the gentle blandishments of conscious superiority; and all in such a masterly stile of performance, that I doubt whether Garrick himself, with all his powers of countenance, could outdo him. Critical though my situation was, and much as I was harassed with the corrosions of mental pain, the extravagant action and ludicrous pomposity of this man frequently overbore my prudence, and compelled me to laugh incontinently and loudly;—on all such occasions he would put his hands a-kimbo, draw up his eye-brows to his turban, screw down the corners of his mouth in the most rueful manner, and give a loud  
 I — whew!



whew ! with his eyes fixed in a stare at me, till entirely overcome with laughter, and ready to sink under it, I clapped my face between my hands, and, as well as I could, bowed in token of sorrow and submission ; when, threatening me vehemently, and at the same time uttering a lamentable expression of doubt that he was afraid he had had an idiot imposed on him, he would bustle about, direct the horses to be got ready, and order me to get on horseback, with many denunciations of severe treatment, and a thousand flourishes of his whip over my head.

As I have rode along musing upon the contemptible stratagems to which I was reduced, in order to get through this country, for no other reason but because I was a Christian, I could not help reflecting with sorrow on the melancholy effects of superstition, and regretting that that place, which in the times of primitive simplicity was called the Terrestrial Paradise ; that place where God first planted man after the flood ; where the god-like Abraham and the holy Job breathed the pure air of piety and simplicity ; that place which from all those circumstances ought to be considered above all others as the universal inheritance of mankind, should now be cut off from all but a horde of senseless bigots, barbarous fanatics, and inflexible tyrants. And I could not help considering with melancholy concern, the blindness and infatuation of men, who, less earnest to accommodate themselves than injure others, shut out their fellow-creatures from that which they themselves will not use, and, while they suffer millions of the richest acres in the universe to be untilled, and spend their sweetness in the desert air, with wicked jealousy, and envy more than diabolical, begrudge to others the little spot on which they stand, and chase them as they would a ravening tiger from their country.

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LETTER XXXVIII.

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AS we advanced towards the southward and eastward, in our way from Diarbeker towards Bagdad, I found the air become sensibly warmer, and observed that the disposition of the people grew more and more brutal. My guide's conduct (for he knew them well) became proportionately artful, and my manners were of course to grow so much the humbler. I observed, however, that his authority continued the same, and that he seemed to exert it with greater rigour; not in severity or chastisement, but in exacting implicit obedience. Yet still he evidently acted with great caution and circumspection; for, in some districts, he either avoided the little villages by a circuitous route, or dashed through them at a very quick pace, while the gaping multitude considered us as on a dispatch of haste and importance—in others, he entered the towns without reserve, and left it to chance to decide whether we should be discovered or not. At some caravanferas he treated me with affected negligence, at others he made me eat with him and drink wine, of which, in some places, he himself drank copiously, and at others as scrupulously refrained from. And sometimes we lay at night out in the open air, rather than enter a town; on which occasions I found the weather as piercing cold as it was distressfully hot in the day time. Bred, as the man was, a mixture of slave and tyrant, I can suppose some parts of this conduct to arise from caprice; but, as he was naturally kind, as

many



many of those aberrations from the usual mode of travelling were attended with hardship and inconvenience to himself, and as my servant and the other Tartar were clearly of opinion he was right, I am rather disposed to believe that he, on the whole, acted from principles of sound sense and policy.

He frequently advised me against indulging in laughter; said it was unmanly, indecorous, inconsistent with the gravity becoming a wise man, and withal dangerous.

One evening we came to a caravansera much fatigued, the day being extremely hot, and we having rode very hard—whether it was caprice or fatigue, or the suggestion of policy that moved him, I cannot say, but he was certainly more disposed to play the tyrant than I had ever before seen him. He flogged the men who took the horses, kicked every one he met, made the house ring with his enormous voice; directed supper to be got ready, ate growling, and finding fault with every thing; and under pretence of disliking the ingredients of an excellent pillaw, handed it over to me, saying, Here, Jimmel (the name he called me), here, take this filth, and cram it down thy coarse throat, it is only fit for a Frank—I took it with the best air of humility I could assume; and tearing the meat with my fingers, which I also used instead of a spoon to eat the rice, swallowed it eagerly; he watching me all the time attentively. When I had finished it, I gave him a hint in the Frank language, that I should like to wash it down with some wine; but he did not, or rather would not, understand me.

Supper done, he ordered a servant to attend him with some water, and directed him to wash his feet; while that operation was performing, he continued menacing every one about him. My servant, who sat next me and behind him, interpreted every thing he

said.

said. "Yes, ye slaves," said he, as he lolled back upon his cushion, "yes, I will make the best of you wash my feet; for who shall refuse to wash the feet of him, who represents the Sultan of the World, the Son of Mahomet, the Messenger of the Lord?" The poor fellow proceeded in his humble office, and only interrupted him by saying, "Blessed be my lord the sultan, and glory be to the Lord our God, and Mahomet his prophet."—"Yes, yes," continued my Tartar, "bless God and the prophet, and pray for his servant our sultan, and all who represent him like me, that slaves of your description are permitted to live: nay, thou shalt wash this Frank's feet:" then, turning to me with an air of magisterial tenderness, "Jimmel," said he, "hold forth thy feet, and let them be washed by this disciple of Ali—I say, hold forth thy feet."

Scarcely able to refrain from laughter at this Bombardinian of the East, and his pompous manner of issuing his orders, I drew up my trowsers and took off my boots—the man brought fresh water, and fell to rubbing my feet with great good will and humility; yet evidently felt so much hurt at the humiliation, that I was sorry for it, and would rather have dispensed with the washing, though it was a luxury.

In the midst of this operation, the Tartar, who was reclining on his cushion, smoking, rose up, and stalking two or three times across the room, with the most ludicrous air of self-conceit and importance, took his tobacco pipe from his mouth, brandished it in ostentatious parade, and in the tone and manner rather of one that was raving than of a man in his sober senses, burst out with an emphatical expression of satisfaction, and said, "This it is to be protected by a great man: Mussulmen salam to him and wash his feet."

The extravagance of this sentiment, the absurdity of its application, and the consequential solemnity of



his action and countenance while he spoke, altogether rushed upon me with such impetuous force, that I could not resist it, and, in spite of every effort to restrain myself, burst into an immoderate fit of laughter.

Had I the pencil of Hogarth, the pen of Shakespeare, or the powers of a Garrick, I might attempt to give some idea of his countenance, when, turning, he beheld me convulsed with laughter. I might attempt it, I say, but I could not do it justice. Such a combination of ludicrous expression I never beheld; it was indeed an epitome of all the lower order of human passions. Fury predominated, but it was risible fury—it was fury that rather grinned than frowned; though under it were to be seen shame and mortification, sorrow and resentment, pride and degradation, silly bashfulness and decayed importance. For some time he stood transfixed to the spot, his eyes glistening like those of a rat in a trap; his pointed whiskers moving with the contortions of his lips, and his mouth every now and then opening like the beak of a wounded hawk. To utter his sensations he was unable; and he continued in this state, not only till my laughter was abated, but till I had time to reflect and be seriously concerned.

At length, without saying a sentence, he wheeled about, threw off his slippers, drew on his boots, vociferated till he brought all the people of the caravan-fera about him, and ordered horses to be ready instantly. As orders from such a person were not likely to be disobeyed, the horses were got ready. I saw that I must either proceed, or come to an open rupture with him; so recollecting that I was myself in fault, that a dispute might be fatal, and that at all events it was only the humour of the moment, I drew on my boots too, and was ready to go, though I was much fitter for a twelve hours' nap than for an hour's travelling on horseback.

We mounted immediately, and it was my good fortune to have the best horse. He set out upon the gallop, the moon shining as bright almost as day; I put forward my horse, and kept rather before him, which vexed him so, that he beat the poor animal he rode on most unmercifully. At length, after about eight or ten miles riding, he called a halt—dismounted, and said he would rest there all night. I saw it was all resentment: but knowing that it would be in vain to remonstrate, I dismounted too; and, judging that the best way to mortify him in return, was to comply with affected approbation, turned to my servant and told him (knowing that it would go from him to the Tartar) that I was delighted with the beauty of the night; remarking at the same time, that lying in the sweet salubrious air was far preferable to being confined in the sultry filth of a caravanfera.

As soon as this was communicated to the Tartar, he remarked, that the open air was the fittest place for the beasts of the forest, and therefore suitable to a Frank; but for his part, he would much rather repose on a cushion, which he should have done, had it not been for my accursed risible faculties.

Here the conversation rested, and we fell asleep. In a few hours he awoke us, and we set forward: after some pause, he began in the following manner, which was interpreted to me, as he spoke, by my servant:

“Surely God made laughter for the derision and shame of mankind, and gave it to the Franks and the monkies; for the one ha, ha, ha’s, and the other he, he, he’s, and both are malicious, mischievous, and good for nothing but to fret and tantalize all that come across them.”

Here he paused, as waiting for something to be said: however, I remained silent. At length, he continued: “Not but that, with all their laughter, they have the wisdom to take special care of themselves; for half a

dozen



dozen monkees, will he, he, he, and empty a whole orchard of its fruit in the reckoning of a hundred; and a Frank will ha, ha, ha, and eat you up pillaws and poultry like a wolf, and drink up wine with the same moderation that a camel drinks up water."

I thought I should have choked with smothered laughter: I would not however interrupt him, and so contrived to keep it to myself: he proceeded to apothegmatise:

"But with all their he, he, he's, and ha, ha, ha's, it sometimes turns out that they are caught: the monkey is seized in a trap and caged or knocked in the head, and the Frank is put in jail, and bastinadoed or hanged; and then the tune is changed, and it is Oh, ho, ho!" Here he began to mimic crying so admirably, and at the same time so ridiculously; that I burst out laughing again.

"Observe, Jimmel," said he hastily, "observe! you can't refrain! But by our holy prophet," said he seriously, "it may end as I said: so look to yourself, and avoid laughter in caravanferas, or we part; for there are places, and that was one of them last night, where suspicion would ruin you. And if you lost your life, what should I say for myself on my return to Aleppo? Eh, what should I say for myself? Ha ha, ha! would not do. No, no, they would not believe it, and I should lose my character."

"Why, don't you laugh yourself?" said I.

"Very seldom, or rather never," returned he; "at least I would not in time of danger. No, no, none but Christians and monkees make a practice of laughing—Turks and Tartars are wiser." I promised him, that I would in future take more care; and, by way of appeasing him with a little flattery, said, that he played his part so admirably, it was impossible to resist the impulse. But he answered, with a grave face,

face, that his action in that case was of too serious a nature to be made a subject of merriment—and advised me to believe it so.

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## LETTER XXXIX.

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THE solicitude of my guide for my safety was the earnestness of a man of business zealous to discharge with the utmost punctuality the duty he had undertaken; and I must observe to you, that the whole of his conduct evinced a precision and punctuality of dealing rarely found in our intercourse with mankind. Previous to leaving Aleppo, he had undertaken to convey me safe—he was, as you may already perceive, indefatigable and unremitting in his endeavours to do so; he had promised to supply me with food—so he did, in the most ample manner; he promised to go as I pleased, fast or slow—so he did; he promised to change horses with me, as often as I thought proper to desire—he did so. But beyond this, he seemed to carry his care of me no farther than to any bale of goods he might have in his charge. He was bound to deliver me safe, in good order and condition, at Bagdad: so much he was determined to do, and no more did he think of. I had got letters to the bashaws of some of the towns through which we were to pass: but as the delivery of a letter is, according to the custom of that country always accompanied with a present, I thought it better to decline delivering them, except when necessity compelled



compelled—though the state of the country was so unsettled, that we often had occasion for a guard.

As soon as the remembrance of the laughing affair was a little decayed, the Tartar began to relax into good humour, and to talk with his usual vehemence; for he was always, according to the flow of his spirits, either fully silent or extravagantly loquacious. His tongue might be considered as a thermometer, by which the warmth or coldness of his temper might be calculated, and the extremes, of garrulity and taciturnity were the indices. His conversation, however, was very circumscribed, and consisted chiefly of stories of himself and his horse, the amazing journeys he made, and the feats of manhood he performed. One circumstance I must in justice mention, as I think it marks strongly the habitual delicacy and modesty of this people. Although he frequently lamented my banishment from my family, and although we were for eighteen days continually conversing on a variety of occasions that might lead to the subject, he never once talked of women; never, in all his pity for my situation, glanced even remotely at the possibility of my getting a substitute in that way; never hinted that he thought of them himself. On seeing women, coming to the wells, they reminded me of some of the stories in the Old Testament. I mentioned it, but it went no farther; for whenever the subject was started, he threw cold water on it.

That he conceived me to be in some respects a parcel of property, I have good reason to believe: for I observed that at some caravanseras the people collected round me, and regarded me with strong symptoms of surprise and pity; some viewed me with commiseration, some with contempt; but not one creature, however wretched or abject, seemed to envy my situation.

I was the more confirmed in this opinion by an incident that happened between Diarbeker and Mosul.

One

One morning I was unusually overcome with the fatigues of the preceding day : the Tartar called me, summoned me to horse ; and finding that I gave no answer, nor shewed any token of awaking, he lifted me in his arms bodily from my couch (such was his strength that he did it without any difficulty), carried me out without the least ceremony, and, before I was so completely awake as to be sensible of my situation, had me fixed upon a horse ready to depart.

A transaction so very singular, you may well conclude, surprised me at the time, and would not readily be forgotten : such a crowd of strange, confused, and incongruous thoughts and sensations as occurred to me, I never before experienced : they were painful, they were surprising—but I was in such a state that I could not afterwards analyse them. The chief reflection that arose from it was, that human sentiment must be in a deplorable state of degradation indeed, when such a circumstance could occur from the notion that a man was as much an asset or piece of property, could be transferred by the same means, and moved in the same unfeeling manner, as any portion of inert matter that makes up a bale of merchandize. Of the truth of this position I had soon after a melancholy proof, in an incident which, though lamentable, was attended with such ludicrous circumstances, that even now I never think of it without smiling—smiling, as I did then, with a heart bleeding with pity.

One morning I was awakened before day-break with a bustle in the caravanfera where we lodged. I conjectured that the Tartar was preparing to get forward, and rose in order to lose no time. I was so far right in my conjectures : the horses were ready, and I came out to mount, and was very much surprised to perceive several horses before me loaded with something which stood erect from their backs, and which I had barely light to discern were not men. I

concluded



concluded that they were bales of merchandize packed in a particular form, and asked no questions till full day-light disclosed to me that they were human creatures tied up in sacks, and fastened astride on the horses' backs. There was a strange union of horror and oddity in the conception, that struck me at once with a mixed emotion of indignation, pity, and mirth.—The former however got the better, and I asked my servant with some warmth what it meant.—He said that the sacks contained some young women whom the Tartar had bought.—“Good God!” said I, “is it possible that he can have bought wretched females to treat them with so little tenderness?” “He has bought them,” returned my servant, “in the way of traffic, not for pleasure.”

“Suppose he has,” said I, “suppose even they were men, not to mention young women, how can he imagine that they will survive this? Tied up and sweltered in a sack—fastened cross-legs, on a horse, and driven at such an amazing rate (for by this time we had set forward, and another Tartar was whipping the horses up all the time, and driving them on)—how is it possible they can survive? They must be smothered—they must be shattered to pieces—they must be stripped, excoriated, and tortured to death!”

“If I might presume to advise,” said he, “I would say that you had better make no remarks upon it: it would only get them perhaps worse treated, and raise his anger against you.”

To conclude, I took his advice, and kept my mind to myself. The unfortunate women were in this manner carried fifty miles, at the end of which their tender-hearted purchaser disposed of them in some way of keeping till his return; when I suppose they were to be carried back in sacks astride upon horses, all the way to Aleppo, there to be sold to the highest bidder.

To us, my FREDERICK, who live in a country where an hour's detention in a house against our will is punished as unlawful imprisonment, and who feel and value the rich treasure of liberty above all earthly blessings, the bare idea of slavery appears horrible; when the miseries of slavery are sharpened by cruelty, our indignation burns at the offence: but such a complicated piece of enormity as that I have mentioned, almost transcends belief, and indignation is lost in amazement. There are but few men, even in our bracing climate, whom fifty miles riding would not shake to pieces, and torture almost to death. No woman would think of it. But when to that is superadded, first the compulsion—then the sorry and at best painful equipage of the horses—the tender persons, unaccustomed to riding, of the women—the smothering heat of the sack—and above all the horrid climate, burning with an almost vertical heat (vertical at least compared with our oblique sun)—it will be allowed to be a wonder, almost approaching to a miracle, that they survived one half of their journey. The wonder-working hand of Omnipotence alone could bring them through it; and when I asked in the evening whether they were dying or dead, and was told that they were not only alive but in perfect health, I could not help repeating that most beautiful expression put into the mouth of Maria by the inimitable Sterne, “God tempers the wind to the side of the shorn lamb.”

This affair tended to prejudice me strongly against my Tartar guide, and I was for some time that I could not look upon him without horror: but at length my resentment abated; and reason, resuming her seat of cool decision, told me, that though it was a crime and a grievous one, he was not so responsible for it as those who, knowing better, authorised it by their concurrence, gave it the sanction of law, and made it familiarly practised; he only did



that which he had been even from his mother's breast instructed to do, and should therefore not be judged by those rules with a Briton would lay down for the government of such cases.

A Briton!—Hold! Have I not now been uttering a most severe satire upon the British nation? Yes! imputing to men a virtue which they want, is the worst kind of satire—I meant it not at the time, but will not retract what I have written—Britons deserve the lash of satire! They deserve a worse lash: for the traffic in human bodies still stands a bloody brand of infamy on her great national councils. Their brother's blood! the blood of millions of murdered Africans, like that of Abel, cries to Heaven against them, and will not, I fear, cry in vain.

Great God!—What a horrible thought!—what an indelible stigma! that a legislator shall, in the cold blood of commerce, make a calculation of the probable profit upon human lives—put commercial expediency in the balance against murder—and make convenience the excuse for crime!—Why, the robber may do so!—But shall Britons, generous Britons, who boastful claim precedence of the world in freedom, humanity, and justice—shall they look on and see inferior nations spurning from them with horror the debasing traffic; and stimulated by avarice, or misled by wicked policy, retain the blot that other states have wiped away, and live at once the curse of one part, and the scorn of the rest of mankind?—Forbid it mercy! Forbid it Heaven!—And oh! may that virtuous man, who, disdaining the malignant taunts of the base and interested, boldly steps forth the advocate of man and of his country, and session after session springs from the couch of repose which opulence presents him, to break the fetters and the scourges which improbity and avarice have forged for our fellow creatures—may he succeed and bear down all his opposers!

opposers! and may the justice of his country make his triumph and his glory as certain and complete here, as the justice of that Being, under whose direction he acts, will doubtless make them hereafter!

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## LETTER XL.

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FROM the considerations I have already pretty fully mentioned, my mind was by no means at ease. The incessant travelling for so many days, at the rate of seventy-five miles a day, to be continued I knew not how long, increased my anxiety: and the apprehensions of accident, interruption, and above all sickness, intercepting me on my way, haunted my imagination with all its terrors. I was besides approaching fast to that region where the winds strike all living things that draw them in instantly dead: and conceiving that the more expeditious I was in getting over the journey, the greater chance I had of escaping those mischiefs; I pushed heartily forward, and urged the Tartar till he at last expressed his astonishment and approbation; paid me the compliment to say, that I was almost equal to himself for enduring fatigue; and concluded with a very sagacious surmise, that in all probability I had been myself a carrier of dispatches among the Frank governments.

One day after we had rode about four miles from a caravanera, at which we had changed our cattle, I found that a most execrably bad horse had fallen to my lot: he was stiff, feeble, and foundered; in consequence



sequence of which he stumbled very much, and I every minute expected that he would fall and roll over me. I therefore proposed to the guide to exchange with me; a favour he had hitherto never refused, and for which I was the more anxious, as the beast he rode was of the very best kind. To my utter astonishment he peremptorily refused: and as this had been a day of unusual taciturnity on his part, I attributed his refusal to peevishness and ill temper, and was resolved not to let the matter rest there. I therefore desired the interpreter to inform him, that as he had at Aleppo agreed to change horses with me as often as I pleased, I should consider our agreement infringed upon if he did not comply, and would write to the Consul at Aleppo to that effect.

As soon as this was conveyed to him, he seemed strongly agitated by anger; yet endeavoured to conceal his emotions under affected contempt and derision, which produced from him one of the most singular grins that ever yet marred the human physiognomy. At length he broke forth:

“You will write to Aleppo, will you? Foolish Frank! they will not believe you! By Mahomet, it would be well done to hear the complaint of a wandering Frank against Hassan Artaz—Hassan the faithful and the just, who for ten years and more has been the messenger of an emperor, and the friend and confidant of cadis, bashaws, and viceroys, and never yet was called so much as liar! Who, think you, poor misguided one! who, think you, would believe that I broke my promise?”

“Why do you not then,” said I, interrupting him, “why do you not perform it by changing horses, when you are convinced in your conscience (if you have any) that it was part of your agreement?”—  
“Once for all I tell you,” interrupted he, “I will

not

not give up this horse. There is not," said he gasconadingly, "there is not a Mussulman that ever wore a beard, not to talk of a wretched Frank, that should get this horse from under me; I would not yield him to the commander of the faithful this minute, were he in your place: I would not, I tell you, Frank—and I have my own reasons for it."

"I dare say you have," returned I; "love of your ease, and fear of your bones."

At hearing this, he grew quite outrageous—called MAHOMET and ALLA to witness that he did not know what it was to fear any thing—declared that he was convinced some infernal spirit had that day got possession of me—and indeed seemed well disposed to go to logger-heads. At length observing that I looked at him with sneering contemptuous defiance, he rode up along side of me—I thought it was to strike, and prepared to defend myself. I was however mistaken; he snatched the reins out of my hand, and caught hold of them collected close at the horse's jaw; then fell flogging my horse and spurring his own, till he got them both into full speed; nor did he stop there, but continued to belabour mine with his whip, and to spur his own, driving headlong over every impediment that came in our way, till I really thought he had run mad, or designed to kill me. Several times I was on the point of striking him with my whip, in order to knock him off his horse—but as often patience providentially came to my assistance, and whispered to me to forbear and see it out. Mean time I considered myself as being in some danger; and yet such was the power he had over the cattle, that I found it impossible to stop him: so resigning the event to the direction of Providence, I suffered him without a further effort to proceed; I calling him every opprobrious name I could think of in lingua Franca, and he grinning, and

calling



calling me Dumus, Jihash, Burhl (i. e. hog, ass, mule), in rapid and impetuous vehemence of tone and utterance.

He continued this for a length of I dare say some miles, over an uncultivated tract, here and there intersected with channels formed by rills of water in the periodical rains; thickly set with low furze, ferns, and other dwarf bushes, and broken up and down into little hills. His horse carried him clean over all: and though mine was every minute stumbling and nearly down, yet with a dexterity inexpressible, and a vigour altogether amazing, he kept him up by the bridle, and I may say *carried* him gallantly over every thing. I was astonished very much at all this, and towards the end as much pleased as astonished; which he perceiving, cried out frequently and triumphantly, "O, la Frangi! Heli! Heli! Frangi!" and at last drawing in the horses, stopping short, and looking me full in the face, exclaimed in lingua Franca, "Que dice, Frangi—Que dice?"

For some time I was incapable of making him any answer, but continued surveying him from head to foot as the most extraordinary savage I had ever beheld; while he stroked his whiskers with great self-complacency and composure, and nodded his head every now and then, as much as to say, Ay, ay, it is so! look at me! am not I a very capital fellow?—"A capital fellow indeed you are," said I, "but I wish I was well out of your confounded clutches."

We alighted on the brow of a small hill, whence was to be seen a full and uninterrupted prospect of the country all round. The interpreter coming up, he called to him and desired him to explain to me carefully the meaning of what he was about to say; which I will give you as nearly as I can in his own words, as they were translated by the linguist:

“You see those mountains yonder,” said he, pointing to the east; “those are in the province of *Kurdestan*, inhabited by a vile race of robbers called *Jefides*, who pay homage to a God of their own called *Jesid* (*Jesus*), and worship the Devil from fear. They live by plunder, and often descend from those mountains, cross the *Tigris* which runs between them and us, and plunder and ravage this country in bands of great number and formidable strength, carrying away into slavery all they can catch, and killing all who resist them. This country therefore, for some distance round us, is very dangerous to travellers, whose only safety lies in flight. Now it was our misfortune this morning to get a very bad horse, for which, please *ALLA* (stroking his whiskers), some one shall receive the *bastinado*. Should we meet with a band of those *Curds*, what could we do but fly? And if you, *Frangi*, rode this horse, and I that, we could never escape: for I doubt you could not keep him up from falling under me, as I did under you: I should therefore come down and be taken—you would lose your guide, and miss your way, and all of us be undone. Besides,” continued he, “there are many villages here where people live, who, if they only suspected you were a *Frank*, would follow and sacrifice you if they could to *MAHOMET*, and where of course you must run for it.”

As soon as the interpreter had explained this to me, “Well,” continued the Tartar, “what does he say now to it?” Then turning to me, and tossing up his head—“*Que dice, Frangi?*”

“Why, I say,” returned I, “that you have spoken good sense and sound reason; and I am obliged to you.”

This, when interpreted fully, operated most pleasingly upon him; his features relaxed into a broad look of satisfaction, and he said:—“I will do every thing



thing I can to make you easy and contented: and when I am obstinate, don't resist—for be assured I have reason for it; and above all things avoid laughing in my presence. But we shall reach Mosul by and bye, and probably then we may have no more rides." For I expected to get down the river Tigris from Mosul to Bagdad, and had told him so, and he encouraged me with the expectation.

That night we came to a caravansera which lay at some distance from a village. Here the Tartar, pleased with himself for the conduct of the day, and pleased with me for my approbation of it, ordered a most admirable supper; and not only, as was very common with him, rejected the best dish in order to present it to me, but also selected for me the choicest bits of those upon the table. He then ordered wine, observing that the fatigue of a government messenger demanded indulgence; and using a salvo of my suggestion on a former occasion, viz. that the Prophet would not be offended with travellers more than with the sick for taking it as it were *medicinally*.

We accordingly had wine, and admirable it was, though by no means equal to that we drank at the city of Diarbeker. I took little however, and the Tartar was much surprised at my abstemiousness; remarking, that he never saw a Frank before that was not a downright hog when he got the cup to his lips. My taking it in small portions, while he drank it as we do table beer, particularly astonished him. Before he lay down on his couch, he gave orders for horses, threatening the people with severe castigation if they gave bad ones; holding up as an example the person that gave us the stumbling horse that day, who he declared should be bastinadoed as soon as he returned, if there was a *cadi* within ten leagues of him; and I dare to say that he kept his word most religiously.

The next morning we had excellent cattle; fear produced wonders among them, and we set forward just as the sun rose. As we entered the first village, I was somewhat alarmed by perceiving my guide draw up his horse—deliberate—mutter to himself—and seem rather uneasy while he viewed a crowd that was up the street before us; some of whom I perceived to be agitated with some extraordinary motions of the body, while one man stood in the middle, rolling his body into a variety of strange contortions.—The Tartar, for a minute or two, seemed to be debating within himself whether he should proceed or turn about: at length putting me on his left hand, he set forward at full speed, leaving the crowd on his right, who, seeing the rapidity of our pace, flew on one side, and let us pass. We soon however heard shouting behind us, and could hear plainly the words, “Ghiaour! Frangi Cucu!” and looking back, perceived several ragged men like savages pursuing us, lifting stones occasionally, and casting them after us with all their might. The speed of our horses at last got us out of both sight and hearing; and I plainly perceived, and was for the first time convinced, that my guide’s conduct was directed by sound sense, spirit, good faith, and integrity.





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 LETTER XLI.
 

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THE extraordinary occurrence which I mentioned in my last letter required explanation, and my Tartar friend was not backward in giving it; for he loved exceedingly to hear himself talk, and, on any subject within the compass of his knowledge, was shrewd, perspicuous, and even naturally eloquent: he had moreover on that occasion acted the part of a skilful general; and as I applauded his prudence and address, he was extremely kind and communicative, and gave me a full account of that affair, his motives, his deliberations, and the urgency of the case; and, in short, every thing that could elucidate the circumstance, or aggrandize his own importance. It would be a pity to take it out of his own words: I shall therefore relate them to you, as I had them through the medium of our linguist, for they made an impression on my memory not easily to be erased.

“You must know,” said he, “that there are spread over the face of this great and glorious empire a number of dervises of different kinds—*holy* men, who renounce the enjoyments and pleasures of the world, to converse with Mahomet and worship Alla. Some of those are very good men, indeed saints, and never do any thing bad; preaching and praying, without hurting any thing, even a rat or a snake; nay, they would not hurt a Christian. There are others again, of whom I have heard our bashaws and effendis, and even the Maazcen, declare that they are forbid by the

the Koran; and yet the common people (the lower sort you know have no sense) reverence and worship them—they are called *Santons*; live by themselves, sometimes under ground like rabbits, and sometimes in the thickets and woods. They go where they please, take the best seat in any man's house, cram themselves with meat and drink, and yet none resist them; for some will not, and others dare not. Nay, they often pollute women in the open streets—and they never set their eyes on a Christian or a Frank, that they will not kill, if possible. For my part, I think that they ought to be hanged, every one of them that had a head to be hanged by—or rather staked—for no punishment is too great for them; but I dare not say so in that town—if I did, I should be stoned to death by the rabble.

“As soon as I perceived the crowd, and the rascals dancing, I knew that they were *santons*, and was sure that they would stop us in order to extract money from us; in which case they would most probably have discovered you—for they have the eyes of the devil. Nothing then could save your life; the crowd would join them, and your brains would have been beat out with stones. I had a mind to turn back and go round the town, but that might have caused suspicion, and got us perhaps intercepted; so I determined to push by them boldly, which I did, you can testify, like a brave man. You saw enough yourself, to convince you of the danger you have escaped, and of my wisdom and valour; let me therefore entreat you to be entirely guided by me, and above all things avoid that accursed propensity to laughter.”

Since I first formed the resolution of writing this account of my journey, I have been at some pains to dip into the best histories of that country, and I find that in every instance my Tartar guide's information was correct. Those *santons*, as well as other classes

of



of dervises and sheihs, travel about the country, and levy contributions on the inhabitants : some are really what they pretend to be, and are as pure and as pious as the monks of the primitive Christian church ; but the fantons are monsters, who exist only by the barbarous credulity and more than savage ignorance of the lower order of the people—though reprobated, and indeed, execrated, by the better sort of Turks. They affect to be dementated (which with the Mahomedans is the greatest mark of sanctity), and under cover of that madness commit every excess and enormity, not merely with impunity, but with applause. Such is the melancholy state of degradation, to which the weight of superstition's chains bends the mind of man ! It is not long since I had a very pleasing discussion of this extraordinary subject, with a gentleman of my acquaintance, for whose veracity I have great respect. Superstition and credulity very naturally led to a consideration of the Turkish religion, and I expressed my satisfaction, that the worst excrecences of the Christian schisms could not be compared with the Turkish faith in their dervises. He said, that he agreed it did not go quite the length of the fantons ; but he related to me a conversation between him and a Roman catholic, not more than twenty-four miles from the enlightened city of Dublin, which surprised me much.

“ I was,” said he, “ when a youth, very free in censuring all religions, and chiefly Popery ; for, being bred among Roman catholics, I had the greater opportunity of seeing their absurdities, which I treasured up as so much gain, without ever taking into account their many virtues, of which they have their share. One day I was on a party of pleasure, at a place called ———, and in presence of a poor country fellow ridiculed the priesthood, attributing to them many vices, and particularly fornication and adultery.”

adultery. The man resisted me, and declared it was impossible. Then I suppose, said I, if a priest and a woman were locked up in a room together for a year, and the woman in a week after coming forth was brought to bed of a child, you would not believe it to be the priest's. No, said he, I would not. Then how comes the child? I don't know, replied he—any way but by him. In short, he would believe in self-impregnation, or preternatural visitation, rather than allow a priest to be capable of fornication."

"But," said I, "you supposed a case—if the fellow was shrewd enough to say, no such case could at all happen, he would have put you down; that was what he meant, though he knew not how to go about expressing it."

The difficulties and hazards of the journey, which seemed to thicken upon us as we advanced, made me pant for a speedy conclusion to it; and the adventure of the last day opened more clearly to my view the dangers we had to encounter, which were still likely to increase as we got to the eastward and southward, where the fury of bigotry raged without remorse; where the greater distance from the seat of government made the populace more lawless, and the magistrate more corrupt and tyrannical; where the total seclusion from all well ordered society rendered the manners barbarous; where strangers were seldom seen, and when seen fleeced and persecuted; and where particularly, I had reason to believe, scarcely any Englishman had ever set his foot; and above all, where the very winds that blew were charged with destruction, and carried instant death upon their wings. I therefore earnestly longed to reach Mosul, where the probability was, I should get at least the more comfortable and commodious conveyance of water carriage, and where I might refresh myself completely, after the fatigues of so many days journey; and, if there

was



was occasion, claim a guard and protection, having along with me a letter to the bashaw, which I might withhold or deliver, just as best suited my inclination or convenience.

I could not help viewing with a sad and melancholy eye my present state ; wandering, I may say alone, unaccommodated and wretched, through an inhospitable region, and more inhospitable people ; where danger beset me in a thousand forms, and every step I took, I took in hazard of my life ; and comparing it with those scenes of opulence and comfort which I had once experienced, where every lawful wish met with its accomplishment ; where every necessity was supplied, and every difficulty obviated ; where tender love and attachment anticipated every desire ; and soothed every care : where the mutual endearments and reciprocal accommodations of tender relatives, wife, children, faithful friends, and kindly intimates gave a zest to life, made me feel that my existence was of interest to others as well as to myself, and communicated a conscious importance which the isolated, solitary, selfish man can never feel : I could not help looking back with grief and mortification, to think that I once possessed those blessings, and should perhaps possess them no more ; but, on the contrary, might perish unknown, unheeded, and unlamented, in an unknown corner of the wilds of an unknown hostile country, without one friend to solace or to cheer me, or tell to those who loved or took share in my concerns, the place where I lay, or the particulars of my fate.

Nor in this dismal train of reflections was Aleppo forgotten. It made the great connecting link between my former happiness and present misery ; it was, as it were, the door through which I passed when I took my last farewell of comfort : when it closed and shut me out, the prospect was indeed gloomy ; nor did I after feel one happy sensation, unless the

convulsive transports of a laugh, and the boisterous fleeting mirth arising from the singularities of my guide, which, as the surge raised by the tempest above its proper height lifts up the shattered bark only to cast it on the beach and leave it shipwrecked, elevated my spirits for the moment beyond their proper pitch, to retire quickly, and leave them in the horrors of ten times deeper melancholy.

Perceiving how much cast down I was, my friendly Tartar began to rally me: "Jimmel," said he, "the fantons have frightened you:—but don't be afraid—HASSAN ARTAZ is no boy: he can bring you through greater difficulties than those, should they befall us."

"But how comes it," said I, "Hassan, that you, who have so much power at the caravanseras, have not power to resist those rascally fantons, or the mobs of a village?"

"Why, as to the mob," said he, "if I was by myself, or had only a true Believer with me, I would make them fly before me like the dust before the wind. As to the fantons, no one can resist them: the Great, who hate them, are obliged to show them respect: and the Bashaw of Aleppo, nay the Commander of the Faithful himself, could not save you, if one of them called on the mob to stone you, or tear you to pieces. However, be of good cheer; for, please ALLAH, I will deliver you safe and sound to the Coja at Bagdad: besides, we shall very soon be at Mosul from whence we will go down by water, which will be very pleasant: and the chief danger then will be in fair fighting, which is better than being cut off by fantons.—Should there be occasion," said he, looking most ferociously and brandishing his whip—"should we be attacked by Curds or Robbers, you shall see—you shall see, Jimmel—Oh! holy Prophet, how I'll fight!"



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LETTER XLII.

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IT was early in the evening when the pointed turrets of the city of Mosul opened on our view, and communicated no very unpleasant sensations to my heart. I found myself on Scripture ground; and could not help feeling some portion of the pride of the traveller, when I reflected that I was now within sight of Nineveh, renowned in Holy Writ.—The city is seated in a very barren sandy plain, on the banks of the river Tigris, embellished with the united gifts of Pomona, Ceres, and Flora. The external view of the town is much in its favour, being encompassed with stately walls of solid stone, over which the steeples or minarets of other lofty buildings are seen with increased effect. Here I first saw a large caravan encamped, halting on its march from the Gulph of Persia to Armenia; and it certainly made a most noble appearance, filling the eye with a multitude of grand objects, all uniting to form one magnificent whole.

But though the outside be so beautiful, the inside is most detestable: the heat is so intense, that in the middle of the day there is no stirring out; and even at night the walls of the houses are so heated by the day's sun, as to produce a disagreeable heat to the body at a foot or even a yard distance from them. However, I entered it with spirits, because I considered it as the last stage of the worst part of

of my pilgrimage. But, alas! I was disappointed in my expectation; for the Tigris was dried up by the intensity of the heat, and an unusually long drought; and I was obliged to take the matter with a patient shrug, and accommodate my mind to a journey on horseback, which, though not so long as that I had already made, was likely to be equally dangerous, and which therefore demanded a full exertion of fortitude and resolution.—There are a thousand latent energies in every man, which only want the powerful voice of necessity to call them out: and now drawn to the top of my bent, I prepared my mind to set out in the morning, with as much cheerfulness as if the hopes of water carriage to Bagdad had never once occurred to my mind.

It was still the hot season of the year, and we were to travel through that country, over which the horrid wind I have before mentioned sweeps its consuming blasts: it is called by the Turks *samiel*, is mentioned by holy Job under the name of the East Wind, and extends its ravages all the way from the extreme end of the Gulph of Cambaya up to Mosul; it carries along with it flecks of fire, like threads of silk; instantly strikes dead those that breathe it, and consumes them inwardly to ashes; the flesh soon becoming black as a coal, and dropping off from the bones. Philosophers consider it as a kind of electric fire, proceeding from the sulphureous or nitrous exhalations which are kindled by the agitation of the winds. The only possible means of escape from its fatal effects, is to fall flat on the ground, and thereby prevent the drawing it in: to do this, however, it is necessary first to see it, which is not always practicable.

But besides this, the ordinary heat of the climate is extremely dangerous to the blood and lungs, and even to the skin, which it blisters and peels away from



from the flesh, affecting the eyes so much, that travellers are obliged to wear a transparent covering over them to keep the heat off.

That night, Hassan said, that as we must proceed to Bagdad on horseback, he would stay the next at Mosul to refresh us; which I objected to: he then spoke of the succeeding part of the journey as a thing of nothing: we had already come near nine hundred miles, and had not above five to go: besides, as the weather was warmer, we would travel more in the night, and lie-by in the daytime, in places with which he was well acquainted.

In short, the poor fellow seemed to take an interest in my safety, and to wish to alleviate the pains of my mind; and he always concluded with a remonstrance against laughing, which from frequently hearing I now understood even in his own language.—“Don’t laugh, Jimmel, don’t laugh,” he would say with great solemnity.—By the bye, I observed, that when he was well disposed to me he always called me Jimmel (a name which I presume he constructed, with my servant’s assistance, from the resemblance of sound between Campbell and Camel, Jimmel being the Turkish for that animal); and when angry, he called me Frangi, with all its gradations of Turkish abuse, Dumus, Cucu, &c.

That evening, as we sat in the caravansera, a man entered and spoke to Hassan, who seemed to pay great attention to what he was saying.—He was a well made man—below the middle size—and had that kind of countenance which bespeaks shrewdness, ingenuity, and mirth. At length he retired; and soon after Hassan bade us rise and follow him: he went into a sort of public room, where a number of people were collected, sitting as is the custom in coffee-houses on low stools. Hassan pointed to me to sit down, which I did: then placing the Interpreter

near

near us, he sat himself: and straight I perceived the little man, who had just been speaking to him, step forth from the crowd and begin to pronounce a sort of prologue, which I neither understood nor wished to understand: it appeared from his cadences to be metrical, and seemed, by the little impression it made on his auditors, to have nothing particular to recommend it. At length, however, he paused, and, hemming several times to clear his pipes, began again to hold forth. "He is going to tell a story," said the Interpreter. The attention of all was fixed upon him, and he proceeded with a modulation of tones, a variety of action, and an energy of expression, that I think I have never heard or seen excelled: his action indeed was singularly admirable; and I could perceive that he was occasionally speaking in the tones of a man and a woman; in which latter character he gave a picture of whining ludicrous distress, that moved the risible muscles of all the company. I looked at Hassan, and he was grinning as merrily as could any monkey or Frank in Asia. The Linguist occasionally interpreted what the story-teller was saying; and I soon began to suspect that it was a story I had more than once read in the Arabian Nights, though altered, and in some measure dramatized by the speaker. I looked several times archly at Hassan, and he returned my glance, as much as to say, You see I don't laugh at all this. At length, however, the orator came to a part where he was to mimic a poor little hunch-back (for I now discovered it to be the story of little Hunch-back) choking with a bone: he threw up his back; squeezed till all the blood in his body seemed collected in his face, his eyes rolled in their sockets, his knees knocked, he twisted and folded his body, putting his fore-finger, and thumb into his throat, and pulling with all his might, as if to pull some-

thing



thing out : at length he grew weaker, stretched his arms down, and his fingers back, like those of a person strangling—kicked, fell, quivered, and died. It is impossible for any description to do justice to the perfection of his acting ; and what rendered it the more extraordinary was, that though it was a scene of death, and well acted death, he continued to render it so ludicrous in circumstances, as to suspend the audience between a laugh and cry. They did not remain long so ; for he suddenly bounced up, and began the most doleful lamentation of a woman, and exhibited such a scene of burlesque distress as I never witnessed. All burst out in torrents of laughter, Hassan as well as the rest—I alone remained purposely serious ; and the orator, according to custom, broke off in the middle of an interesting scene.

When we returned to the caravansera, I rallied the Tartar on the score of his laughter : he growled, and said, “ Who could avoid it ? Why did not you laugh as you were wont ? ” — “ Because,” said I, “ he did not act as comically as you.” — “ No,” returned he, “ but because Franks and monkies only laugh for mischief, and where they ought not. No, Jimmel, you will never see me laugh at mischief.” — “ What,” said I, “ not at a poor man’s being choked to death ! ” — “ Nay,” said he, “ I seldom laugh, yet I could not avoid it the.” That very hour, however, a puppet-show was exhibited in the same room, and my grave guide laughed till the tears ran down his cheeks, and his voice sunk into a whining treble. *Kara ghuse* was certainly extravagantly comical, though filthy ; and frightened a *cadi* with a whole troop of Janissaries, by letting fly at them a shot or two—a *parte post*——

The next day we set out well mounted, and pushed on with renovated spirits towards Bagdad. Hassan

could

could no more have the assurance to censure laughing and, as I was little disposed to do it in time of danger, we were likely to agree well. In short, we began to like one another's company; and if I brought him to be a greater laughier than he used to be, he gave himself the credit of having made me much more serious than I had been before—I profited by his instructions.

It would be an effort as idle and fruitless on my part, as unentertaining and uninteresting on yours, to attempt to give you a regular detail of our progress from Mosul to Bagdad; the same general cautions were observed, with the same occasional relaxations. Hassan still continued to treat me with a repetition of himself and his horse, his own feats and his horse's feats; to be silent when ill-tempered, and loquacious when gay; to flog the attendants at the caravanseras; order the best horses, and eat the best victuals, and to give me the best of both; and finally we had our fallings out and fallings in again: but I had not the mortification of seeing any more women tied in sacks on horses' backs, and excoriated with a ride of fifty miles a day.

As we rode along we overtook several times straggling callenders, a kind of Mahomedan monks, who profess poverty and great sanctity; they were dressed all in rags, covered with filth, carried a gourd, by way of bottle, for water—I presume sometimes for wine too—and bore in their hands a long pole decorated with rags, and pieces of cloth of various colours. They are supposed by the vulgar to have supernatural powers: but Hassan, who seemed to have caught all his ideas from his betters, expressed no sort of opinion of them; he *salam'd* to them and gave them money, however. It was extraordinary enough, that they were all in one story—all were going on a pilgrimage to Mecca—or, as they call it, *Hadje*.



As soon as ever we got out of their sight and hearing, Hassan shook his head, and repeated "Hadjé, Hadje!" several times doubtingly, and grinned, as he was accustomed to do when he was displeased, without being able to manifest anger. "Hadjé!" he would cry, "Hadjé, Hadje!" I asked him what he meant; and he said, that these fellows were no more going to Mecca than I was. "I have a thousand and a thousand times," said he, "met callenders on the road, and always found them facing towards Mecca. If I am going southward, I always overtake them; if northward, I meet them; and all the time they are going wherever their business carries them. I overtook," continued he, "one of them one day, and I gave him alms and passed him by; he was coming he said, after me, towards Mecca: but I halted on purpose for a day, and he never passed; and a merchant arriving at the same caravanfera informed me, he had met the very same fellow four leagues farther northward; who had answered him with the same story, and still had his face turned towards the south."

Fifty years ago, no man in Turkey would have dared to hold this language; but every day's experience evinces that the light of reason spreads its rays fast through the world—even through Turkey; and furnishes a well founded hope, that in another half century every monkish impostor (I mean real impostors), whether they be Mahomedan monks, or Christian monks, will be chased from society, and forced to apply to honest means for subsistence.

END OF PART II.



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A

JOURNEY TO INDIA, &c.

Part III.

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LETTER XLIII.

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MY DEAR FREDERICK,

AFTER passing through an immense tract of country, distinguished by nothing that could serve even as a circumstance to mark and remember our daily journeys, but which I observed to grow manifestly worse, both in soil and climate, as we proceeded Southward, we came in sight of the famous city of Bagdad, on the seventh day from that on which we left Mosul, and on the eighteenth from that of my departure from Aleppo; in which eighteen days we had rode fourteen hundred miles, partly through a route which no European, I have reason to believe, ever took before.

On entering the city, I desired my guide to conduct me to the house of a Merchant, to whom I had got letters of credit and introduction. He took me accordingly through the windings of several streets, and at last stopped at the door of an Armenian Merchant, or *Coja*, where he made me alight, and come in. I was received with great politeness; and, on



producing my letter, found that he was not the person to whom it was directed: I accordingly made a suitable apology, and was for retiring to find the house of the proper person, for which purpose the Armenian offered me a servant, when, to my great astonishment, my Tartar interfered; said that it was to this Merchant he brought all his goods; and that I must remain where I was; at the same time ordering the Armenian, in a peremptory tone, to take charge of me, and use me well. It was in vain that the Armenian endeavoured to explain to him the nature of the business, and that I insisted I must go to the other Merchant—HASSAN was peremptory, and declared that I should not. It was so extremely *outré* and ridiculous, that I could not be angry; and the good Armenian uniting his voice with that of the Tartar, and entreating me to favour him with my company, I acquiesced, and indeed remained in his house all the time I was at Bagdad. This was proof positive, if any other than I already had was wanting, that he considered me merely as a piece of merchandise, which he was bound (according to the language of Merchants) to deliver in good order and condition.

I had undertaken, before leaving Aleppo, to give the guide, if he acted conformably to my wishes, and behaved well, twenty pounds over and above the hundred provided by the agreement: I therefore sent for him, to settle finally, and part. He had heard that I was a person different from what he had supposed me to be: but it did not alter his conduct, as might be expected, or make him stoop to cringing; he still spoke with the same honest, bold familiarity; and when I gave him the promised twenty pounds, he never hinted, cringed for, or even looked as if he expected more: but when we came to part, the feelings he disclosed, and those I myself felt, convinced

convinced me, that Man is not naturally that brute which prejudice has made him; and, when left to its own operations, the human heart would be uniformly kindly, affectionate, and sympathetic: the poor, rough, unpolished Turk, betrayed the strongest marks of sensibility, and I myself once more felt the uneasiness of parting.

I think this is the proper place to give you my opinion of the Turks, while the recollection of honest HASSAN is fresh in my mind; and I cannot do it better than by quoting the words of an excellent French Writer——

“The Turks (says M. du LOIR) are naturally a good people, which is not to be ascribed to the climate; for the Greeks born in the same climate have very different dispositions, and retain only the bad qualities of their ancestors, viz. roguery, treachery, and vanity. The Turks, on the contrary, priding themselves on their integrity and modesty, are distinguished in general by an open, ingenuous simplicity of manners; courtiers only excepted, who, in Turkey, as every where else, are the slaves of ambition and avarice.”

The name of Bagdad has been so renowned in Eastern story, and is the scene of so many of those bewitching tales which we find translated, or pretended to be translated, from the Arabic and Persian, that I felt great pleasure in seeing it, and conceived myself to be at the very fountain-head of marvellous adventure and romance. Fraught with this idea, I was impatient to go forth into the town; and notwithstanding the weather was beyond conception hot, I paraded a number of streets: but never did I, in the course of my life, see a place so calculated to bely the opinion one would form of it from the eastern tales. It appeared to me to be among the most disagreeable cities of the world,



and has no one circumstance that I could discover to recommend it: the heat is so great, that in the Summer-time the inhabitants are forced to keep their markets in the night, and to lie all night in the open air on the terraces of their houses.

The Armenian with whom I resided, did every thing in his power to render the place agreeable to me; and I shall always retain a lively sense of his goodness and hospitality: he was not only generous and polite, but well informed, and pleasing in conversation. I took occasion to express to him the disappointment I felt at finding Bagdad so very different from what I expected; and told him that I had, when a youth, learned to think highly of it, or rather romantically, from reading Eastern tales. This led to a conversation on the Arabian Nights Entertainments, a copy of which he had in the Arabic, and produced it: he then shewed me, with great triumph, a French translation of them, printed at Paris, which he had read, and declared that the translation was nothing at all in comparison with the original. I believe he was well qualified to judge, for he was a perfect master of the French language.

We talked of the Eastern tale of the Glass Man, who, in a reverie, increases his stock till he gets so rich as, in imagination, to marry the Cadi's daughter, &c. &c. and in kicking his wife, kicks all his glasses about, and destroys the whole of his visionary fortune. I praised the humour of it much—"Sir," said he, "there is nothing in it that may not be experienced frequently in actual life: those waking dreams are the usual concomitants of opium: a man who has accustomed himself to the pernicious practice of eating opium, is constantly subject to them. I have, in the course of my time, found a thousand of those dreamers holding forth in the plenitude of imaginary power. I have seen a common porter

become Cadi, and order the bastinado. I have seen a wretched tailor raised by the effects of opium to the office of Aga of the Janissaries, deposing the Sultan, and ordering the bow-string to all about him. I have seen some indulging in the blandishments of love with Princesses, and others wallowing in the wealth of Golconda. But the most extraordinary visionary of this kind I ever met with, was one who imagined himself translated to Paradise, co-equal to Mahomet, and sitting by the side of that prophet, arguing with him in defence of the use of wine and opium: he argued most ingeniously, listened in silence to the supposed arguments of his adversary, answered them, replied, rejoined, and still argued on—till, growing at last angry, he swore that he was as good a prophet as him, did not care a fig for him, and called him fool and false prophet. A Turk who was present, in the fulness of his zeal, laid a stick very heavily across his shoulders, and put an end to the vision: and never did I see a wretch so abject, so forlorn, or so miserably desponding; he put his forehead to the ground, which he wet with his tears, crying, Mercy, Mahomet! mercy, holy Prophet! mercy, Alla!—nor could he find relief (such is the ruin of opium) till he got a fresh supply of it in his mouth, which soon gave him a temporary respite from the horrors of his situation.”

Unquestionably, Bagdad was once a great city, of flourishing commerce; but the Sultan AMURATH the Fourth, when he made himself master of it, put the richest Merchants settled there to death; and it has ever since gradually declined. About two days journey from it, lie the ruins of the once famous city of Babylon. I was much disposed to go to see it, and thence drop down the Euphrates to Bassora; but my Armenian host told me there was nothing in



it to recompense a person for half the trouble; for, of that magnificent city, which was sixty miles in circumference, which was encompassed with walls eighty-seven feet in thickness, and three hundred and fifty in height, nothing was to be seen but the bare foundations of some great edifices. The Tower of Belus, and the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, lie with the rest in undistinguished ruin. The greatest curiosities, then, were, in the first place, the ruins of a building said to be the famed Tower of Babel, which appeared to have been half a league in compass; and the remains of a vast bridge over the Euphrates, where it is half a league broad.

I was not more anxious to arrive at the city of Bagdad than I was to leave it; and having written letters, and put them in a way of being forwarded to Europe, I took leave of my friendly hospitable Armenian, and, with a thousand acknowledgments for his kindness, set out on horseback to a place on the Tigris, where I embarked in a boat, in order to proceed to Bassora. This river, known since the first records of human existence by Geographers, is remarkable for its rapidity, whence, PLINY says, it has the name of Tigris, (in the Median language, a dart); and for its extraordinary course, which is in many places under ground, rises in Armenia, sinks into the earth near mount Taurus, and runs under a mountain—then rising at the other side, follows its course through the lake Thespites—again sinks frequently under ground, and continues hid at one time for a space of twenty-five miles; where, once more emerging, it glides along with a very rapid stream, meets the Euphrates at a place called Korna, passes through Bassora, and falls into the Persian Gulph.

As the boat in which I took my passage had no convenience for excluding the violence of the sun,

except

except an awning, I suffered extremely from the heat. The river itself was grand; but the banks, and contiguous country, contained nothing to attract notice—no object to diversify the dreary, deserted aspect of the scene—nothing to afford room for reflection, or give birth to a new idea. I do not remember to have ever passed through such a vast extent of country, so uniformly dull and uninteresting. The only thing that served to keep the mind alive, was the apprehension of robbers, who, in great numbers, hover over this river, and plunder passengers. We had taken care, on leaving Bagdad, to be well provided with fire-arms; and they did us yeomen's service—for we were frequently attacked by robbers with a view to plunder, but found that a shot or two dispersed and sent them off in consternation. One night, however, in passing a creek, we perceived several boats issuing from it, in great order, and in a manner that evinced method and premeditation: we silently prepared for their reception, and were completely ready to meet them warmly, while they thought us quite unprepared, and unconscious of their approach: they first endeavoured to board us by surprise: wishing rather to frighten than to kill them, we began by firing over their heads; on which they set up the most horrible shouts, and rushed on with a tumultuous rapidity, making the most terrible noise, in order to intimidate us: they were by this time quite near us; we therefore took aim at them, and let fly, and immediately perceived them in great confusion, some of the boats losing their helm, and falling with the stream on the others: at last we saw them sheer off, and they gave us no farther trouble.



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LETTER XLIV.

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AFTER eight or ten as disagreeable days as I remember to have spent in my life, weakened with incessant watching, harassed with bodily fatigue, and melted with the excessive heat of the sun, I arrived at the city of Bassora, where I was received with the utmost hospitality by Mr. LATOUCHE, the Company's Resident from Bombay, who did every thing possible for my accommodation, and procured me every instruction respecting my further progress.

This city, as well as Bagdad, is famous in marvellous story. The country about it is considered by the natives as the best spot in Asia, though the burning winds annoy and frequently destroy travellers, overwhelming them with mountains of hot sand, driven, like waves of the sea, before the tempest out of the neighbouring deserts. It carries on a great trade, and is inhabited by vast numbers of Christians and Jews. The English and Dutch have factories here, as well for the purpose of commerce, as the transit of dispatches, by way of Damascus and Aleppo, to Europe. The richest merchandise of India and Europe are brought here in caravans; and its opulence is greatly increased by the caravans of Pilgrims, who pass through it on their way to Mecca, and pay great duties, bartering for many rich commodities. The horses of this place are celebrated for their superior excellence: it is said

that

that they will run thirty hours without meat or drink, I doubt the fact, and should be sorry to see so inhuman an experiment tried.

One comfortable circumstance attending Bassora is, that at night the streets may be walked with perfect safety at all hours. It is subject to an Arab Prince, who is tributary to the Turk, and whose revenue is very great, as well from the above-mentioned causes, as because he gives full liberty to all Nations to come and trade to his capital.

From Bassora I took my passage in a date-boat going to Muskat, expecting to get from thence a speedy passage to Bombay; but the boat sprung a leak at sea, and we were obliged to run into Busheer, where I was very hospitably received and entertained by Mr. GALLEY, the Company's Resident.

There really seemed to be an unusual fatality attending me throughout the whole of my journey. You will recollect, in the first instance, I was prevented, by the war with France, from going by the direct route which I should otherwise have taken, and obliged to pass through the Low Countries and Germany.—In the next place, at Venice I was disappointed in obtaining a passage to Latachæa; and, immediately on the heels of that, lost my servant at Trieste, by sending him for letters to Venice.—Afterwards, when I had gone to Alexandria with expectation of travelling through Egypt, and viewing that interesting part of the world, I found myself prevented by the unhappy circumstances of the country—the plague raging in Alexandria, and all the roads being blocked up by an incursion of the Arabs. Thus mortified and disappointed, I turned about, in order to make my way in another direction; and arriving at Cyprus, found, to my infinite surprise and regret, that an epidemic disease, little short of the plague, prevailed there, and swept off



the inhabitants in great numbers: when, after surmounting all those obstacles, I arrived at Aleppo, the first information I got was, that the caravan was gone, and that it would be a long time before another would be ready; and my departure from Aleppo was attended with circumstances no less inauspicious than my entrance—At Mosul I experienced another disappointment, by the river's being dried up, and rendered impracticable by boats—My passage from Bassora to Muskat was impeded by the vessel springing a leak—And now, when at last I hoped to get from Busheer to Bombay, I was stopped by the intelligence that the Gulph was blocked up by French privateers, insomuch as no vessel could hope to escape. I was therefore obliged to remain at Busheer, till a Company's frigate, commanded by Captain HARDY, and soon expected, should afford me an opportunity of proceeding to Bombay. Time, however, brought that period about; and I took my passage, and arrived safe at Bombay, where I soon after embarked on board a Portuguese vessel, being the only conveyance that offered for me to proceed to Madras: she was first bound to Goa, and we arrived safely at that island, where I was received with great politeness, and treated with the most friendly attention, by Mr. HENSHAW, the English Resident.

Goa belongs to the Portuguese: the Viceroy of that Nation lives there in great pomp. It was once the scene of the most abominable cruelties, exercised by that flagitious people on the natives, under pretended zeal for Christianity—I had read the Abbé RAYNAL's glowing description of it; and as I trod the ground, my frame trembled at the thoughts of the massacres perpetrated there.

I was impatient to get from Goa, and yet I looked forward to my departure with a secret uneasiness,

for

for which I was entirely unable to account—I wished to proceed, and yet some secret foreboding whispered to my heart that I was on the verge of calamity: so powerful was it, and so obstinate, that I could neither reason away its admonitions, nor resist its impressions; and something incessantly told me, in as plain language as if a human being spoke, that I should suffer a dreadful misfortune. As I had all my life been an enemy to superstition, I felt my spirit insulted, and my understanding degraded, by the involuntary victory which I allowed to this impression—I combated it with reason, with ridicule, with self-contempt—all in vain: in spite of me, I became the very slave of gloomy presentiment; and in order to get the succedaneous aid of a friend's reason, as well as to be prepared, I communicated the state of my feelings to Mr. HENSHAW. In vain he endeavoured to cheer me: all he could do was to give me his counsel; in consequence of which I actually settled all my affairs up to that day, made my will, left it with Mr. HENSHAW, and, full of dreadful forebodings of shipwreck, went on board a Portuguese snow bound to Madras.

It was now the eighteenth day of May when we sailed from Goa. The hemisphere had been for some days overcast with clouds: some light showers of rain had fallen; and you may conclude that it did not tend to raise my spirits, or free me from my ominous apprehensions, to hear that those circumstances indicated an approaching gale of wind. I observed, moreover, that the vessel was much too deep in the water, being greatly overloaded—that she was in many respects defective, and, as the seamen say, ill-found, and in short very unfit to encounter a gale of wind of any violence. I scorned, however, to yield to those united impressions, and determined to proceed.

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On the nineteenth, the sky was obscured by immense fleeces of clouds, furcharged with inflammable matter; and in the evening, the rain fell in torrents, the firmament darkened apace, sudden night came on, and the horrors of extreme darkness were rendered still more horrible by the peals of thunder which rent the air, and the frequent flashes of lightning, which served only to shew us the horror of our situation, and leave us in increased darkness: mean-time the wind became more violent, blowing on the shore; and a heavy sea, raised by its force, united with it to make our state more formidable.

By day-light on the morning of the twentieth, the gale had increased to a furious tempest; and the sea, keeping pace with it, ran mountain-high; and as it kept invariably to the same point, the Captain and Officers became seriously alarmed, and almost persuaded that the South-west Monsoon had set in, which, if it were so, would render it absolutely impossible for us to weather the coast. All that day, however, we kept as close as the violence of the weather would allow us to the wind; but the sea canted her head so to leeward, that she made more lee than head-way; and the rigging was so strained with the work, that we had little hope of keeping off the shore, unless the wind changed, of which there was not now the smallest probability. During the night there was no intermission of the storm: many of the sails flew into ribbons; some of the rigging was carried away; and such exertions were made, that, before morning, every stick that could possibly be struck was down upon the deck.

About seven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-first, I was alarmed by an unusual noise upon the deck, and running up, perceived that every remaining sail in the vessel, the fore-sail alone ex-

cepted,

cepted, was totally carried away. The sight was horrible; and the whole vessel presented a spectacle as dreadful to the feelings as mortifying to human pride. Fear had produced, not only all the helplessness of despondency, but all the mischievous freaks of insanity. In one place stood the Captain, raving, stamping, and tearing his hair in handfuls from his head—here, some of the crew were cast upon their knees, clapping their hands, and praying, with all the extravagance of horror painted in their faces—there, others were flogging their images with all their might, calling upon them to allay the storm. One of our passengers, who was Purser of an English East-Indiaman, had got hold of a case-bottle of rum, and, with an air of distraction and deep despair imprinted in his face, was stalking about in his shirt. I perceived him to be on the point of serving it about, in large tumblers, to the few undismayed people; and well convinced, that, so far from alleviating, it would sharpen the horrors of their mind, I went forward, and with much difficulty prevented him.

Having accomplished this point, I applied myself to the Captain, and endeavoured to bring him back (if possible) to his recollection, and to a sense of what he owed to his duty as a commander, and to his dignity as a man: I exhorted him to encourage the sailors by his example; and strove to raise his spirits, by saying that the storm did not appear to me by any means so terrible as some I had before experienced.

While I was thus employed, we shipped a sea on the starboard side, which I really thought would have sent us down. The vessel seemed to sink beneath its weight, shivered, and remained motionless—it was a moment of critical suspense: fancy made me think I felt her gradually descending—I

gave



gave myself up as gone, and summoned all my fortitude to bear approaching death with becoming manhood.

Just at this crisis, the water, which rushed with incredible force through all parts of the vessel, brought out floating, and nearly suffocated, another English passenger, who was endeavouring to take a little repose in a small cabin boarded off from the deck: he was a very stout young man, and full of true spirit. Finding that the vessel was not, as I had thought, going immediately down, he joined me in exhorting the captain to his duty: we persuaded him to throw the guns overboard, as well as a number of trunks and packages with which the vessel was much encumbered; and with some little exertion, we got the pumps set agoing.

Here I will stop, knowing the warm sensibility of my FREDERICK's mind; and, convinced that his sympathetic heart will go hand-in-hand with his Father's sufferings, I will not overcharge it with grief by an immediate continuation of the business, but defer it to another Letter.

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## LETTER XLV.

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THE name of the English passenger, whom I mentioned to you in my last Letter as assisting me in getting the Captain and Mariners to do their duty, was HALL. He was a young man of a most amiable disposition, and with it possessed all that manly spirit that

that gives presence of mind in exigences of danger. He and I having, with great difficulty, got some hands to stick to the pumps, stood at the wheel, at once to assist the men, and prevent them from quitting it; and, although hopeless, determined that no effort practicable on our parts should be wanting to the preservation of the vessel. The water, however, gained upon the pumps, notwithstanding every effort; and it evidently appeared that we could not keep her long above water.

At ten o'clock the wind seemed to increase, and amounted to a downright hurricane: the sky was so entirely obscured with black clouds, and the rain fell so thick, that objects were not discernible from the wheel to the ship's head. Soon the pumps were choaked, and could no longer be worked: then dismay seized on all—nothing but unutterable despair, silent anguish, and horror, wrought up to frenzy, was to be seen; not a single soul was capable of an effort to be useful—all seemed more desirous to extinguish their calamities by embracing death, than willing, by a painful exertion, to avoid it.

At about eleven o'clock we could plainly distinguish a dreadful roaring noise, resembling that of waves rolling against rocks; but the darkness of the day, and the accompanying rains, prevented us from seeing any distance; and if they were rocks, we might be actually dashed to pieces on them before we could perceive them. At twelve o'clock, however, the weather cleared up a little, and both the wind and the sea seemed to have abated: the very expansion of the prospect round the ship was exhilarating; and as the weather grew better, and the sea less furious, the senses of the people returned, and the general stupefaction began to decrease.

The weather continuing to clear up, we in some time discovered breakers and large rocks without



sides of us; so that it appeared we must have passed quite close to them, and were now fairly hemmed in between them and the land.

In this very critical juncture, the Captain, entirely contrary to my opinion, adopted the dangerous resolution of letting go an anchor, to bring her up with her head to the sea: But, though no seaman, my common sense told me that she could never ride it out, but must directly go down. The event nearly justified my judgment; for she had scarcely been at anchor before an enormous sea rolling over her, overwhelmed and filled her with water, and every one on board concluded that she was certainly sinking—On the instant, a Lascar, with a presence of mind worthy an old English mariner, took an axe, ran forward, and cut the cable.

On finding herself free, the vessel again floated, and made an effort to right herself; but she was almost completely water-logged, and heeled to larboard so much that the gunnel lay under water. We then endeavoured to steer as fast as we could for the land, which we knew could not be at any great distance, though we were unable to discover it through the hazy weather: the foresail was loosened; by great efforts in bailing, she righted a little, her gunnel was got above water, and we scudded as well as we could before the wind, which still blew hard on shore; and at about two o'clock the land appeared at a small distance ahead.

The love of life countervails all other considerations in the mind of man. The uncertainty we were under with regard to the shore before us, which we had reason to believe was part of HYDER ALI's dominions, where we should meet with the most rigorous treatment, if not ultimate death, was forgotten in the joyful hope of saving life; and we scudded towards the shore in all the exulting transports

ports of people just snatched from the jaws of death.

This gleam of happiness continued not long: a tremendous sea rolling after us, broke over our stern, tore every thing before it, stove in the steerage, carried away the rudder, shivered the wheel to pieces, and tore up the very ring-bolts of the deck—conveyed the men who stood at the wheel forward, and swept them overboard. I was standing, at the time, near the wheel, and fortunately had hold of the taffarel, which enabled me to resist in part the weight of the wave. I was, however, swept off my feet, and dashed against the main-mast. The jerk from the taffarel, which I held very tenaciously, seemed as if it would have dislocated my arms: however, it broke the impetus of my motion, and in all probability saved me from being dashed to pieces against the mast.

I floundered about in the water at the foot of the mast, till at length I got on my feet, and seized a rope, which I held in a state of great embarrassment, dubious what I should do to extricate myself. At this instant I perceived that Mr. HALL had got upon the capstern, and was waving his hand to me to follow his example: this I wished to do, though it was an enterprise of some risk and difficulty; for, if I lost the hold I had, a single motion of the vessel, or a full wave, would certainly carry me overboard. I made a bold push, however, and fortunately accomplished it. Having attained this station, I could the better survey the wreck, and saw that the water was nearly breast-high on the quarter-deck, (for the vessel was deep-waisted); and I perceived the unfortunate English Purser standing where the water was most shallow, as if watching with patient expectation its rising, and awaiting death: I called to him to come to us, but he shook his head in despair, and



and said, in a lamentable tone, "It is all over with us! God have mercy upon us!"—then seated himself with seeming composure on a chair which happened to be rolling about in the wreck of the deck, and in a few minutes afterwards was washed into the sea along with it, where he was speedily released from a state ten thousand times worse than death.

During this universal wreck of things, the horror I was in could not prevent me from observing a very curious circumstance, which at any other time would have excited laughter, though now it produced no other emotion than surprise—We happened to be in part laden with mangoes, of which the island of Goa is known to produce the finest in the world; some of them lay in baskets on the poop; a little black boy, in the moment of greatest danger, had got seated by them, devouring them voraciously, and crying all the time most bitterly at the horrors of his situation!

The vessel now got completely water-logged; and Mr. HALL and I were employed in forming conjectural calculations how many minutes she could keep above water, and consoling one another on the unfortunate circumstances under which we met—lamenting that fate had thus brought us acquainted only to make us witnesses of each other's misery, and then to see one another no more.

As the larboard side of the vessel was gradually going down, the deck, and of course the capstern, became too nearly perpendicular for us to continue on it: we therefore foresaw the necessity of quitting it, and got upon the starboard side, holding fast by the gunnel, and allowing our bodies and legs to yield to the sea as it broke over us. Thus we continued for some time: at length the severity of the labour so entirely exhausted our strength and spirits, that our best hope seemed to be a speedy conclusion

to our painful death ; and we began to have serious intentions of letting go our hold, and yielding ourselves up at once to the fury of the waves.

The vessel, which all this time drifted with the sea and wind, gradually approximated the shore, and at length struck the ground, which for an instant revived our almost departed hopes ; but we soon found that it did not in the smallest degree better our situation—Again I began to yield to utter despair—again I thought of letting go my hold, and sinking at once : It is impossible thought I ever to escape—why, then, prolong, for a few minutes, a painful existence that must at last be given up ? Yet, yet, the all-subduing love of life suggested, that many things apparently impossible had come to pass ; and I said to myself, If life is to be lost, why not lose it in a glorious struggle ? Should I survive it by accident, life will be rendered doubly sweet to me, and I still more worthy of it by persevering fortitude.

While I was employed in this train of reflection, I perceived some of the people collecting together, talking, and holding a consultation—It immediately occurred to me, that they were devising some plan for escaping from the wreck, and getting on shore : and, so natural is it for man to cling to his fellow-creature for support in difficult or dangerous exigences, I proposed to Mr. HALL to join them, and take a share in the execution of the plan—observing to him at the same time, that I was determined at all events to quit the vessel, and trust to the protection and guidance of a superintending Providence for the rest.



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LETTER XLVI.

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AS prodigality of life is, in some cases, the excess of virtue and courage—so there are others in which it is vice, meanness and cowardice. True courage is, according to the circumstances under which it is to operate, as rigidly tenacious and vigilant of life in one case, as it is indifferent and regardless in another; and I think it is a very strange contradiction in the human heart (although it often happens), that a man who has the most unbounded courage, in seeking death even in the cannon's mouth, shall yet want the necessary resolution to make exertions to save his life in cases of ordinary danger. The unfortunate English Purser could not collect courage sufficient to make an effort to save himself; and yet I think it probable that he would have faced a battery of artillery, or exposed himself to a pistol-shot, if occasion required, as soon as any other man. Thus it appears at first view: but may not this seeming incongruity be explained by saying, that personal courage and fortitude are different qualities of the mind and body, and depend upon the exercise of entirely different functions?

Be that as it may, I argued with myself, in the height of my calamitous situation, upon the subject of fortitude and dejection, courage and cowardice; and, notwithstanding the serious aspect of affairs, found myself listening to the suggestions of pride:

What

What a paltry thing to yield, while strength is left to struggle! Vanity herself had her hint, and whispered, "Should I escape by an effort of my own, what a glorious theme of exultation!" There were, I confess, transitory images in my mind, which, co-operating with the natural attachment to self-preservation, made me persevere, and resolve to do so, while one vestige of hope was left for the mind to dwell on.

Observing, as I told you before, the people consulting together, and resolving to join them, I made an effort to get to the lee shrouds, where they were standing, or rather clinging; but before I could accomplish it, I lost my hold, fell down the hatchway (the gratings having been carried away with the long-boat), and was for some minutes entangled there amongst a heap of packages, which the violent fluctuations of the water had collected on the lee side. As the vessel moved with the sea, and the water flowed in, the packages and I were rolled together—sometimes one, sometimes another, uppermost; so that I began to be apprehensive I should not be able to extricate myself: by the merest accident, however, I grasped something that lay in my way, made a vigorous spring, and gained the lee shrouds. Mr. HALL, who followed me, in seizing the shrouds, came thump against me with such violence that I could scarcely retain my hold of the rigging. Compelled by the perilous situation in which I stood, I called out to him for God's sake to keep off, for that I was rendered quite breathless and worn out: he generously endeavoured to make way for me, and, in doing so, unfortunately lost his hold, and went down under the ship's side. Never, never shall I forget my sensations at this melancholy incident—I would have given millions of worlds that I could have recalled the words which made him



him move; my mind was wound up to the last pitch of anguish: I may truly say, that this was the most bitter of all the bitter moments of my life, compared with which the other circumstances of the shipwreck seemed lessened—for I had insensibly acquired an unusual esteem and warm attachment for him, and was doubtful whether, after being even the innocent occasion of his falling, I ought to take further pains to preserve my own life. All those sensations were passing with the rapidity of lightning through my thoughts, when, as much to my astonishment as to my joy, I saw him borne by a returning wave, and thrown among the very packages from which I had but just before, with such labour and difficulty, extricated myself—In the end he proved equally fortunate, but after a much longer and harder struggle, and after sustaining much more injury.

I once more changed my station, and made my way to the poop, where I found myself rather more sheltered—I earnestly wished Mr. HALL to be with me, whatever might be my ultimate fate—and beckoned to him to come to me; but he only answered by shaking his head, in a feeble, desponding manner—staring at the same time wildly about him: even his spirit was subdued; and despair, I perceived, had begun to take possession of his mind.

Being a little more at ease in my new station than I had been before, I had more time to deliberate, and more power to judge. I recollected, that, according to the course of time, the day was far gone, and the night quickly approaching: I reflected, that for any enterprize whatsoever, day was much preferable to night; and above all I considered, that the vessel could not hold long together—I therefore thought, that the best mode I could adopt would be, to take to the water with the first boyant thing

I could see ; and, as the wind and water both seemed to run to the shore, to take my chance in that way of reaching it. In pursuance of this resolution, I tore off my shirt, having before that thrown off the other parts of my dress—I looked at my sleeve buttons, in which was set the hair of my departed children—and, by an involuntary act of the imagination, asked myself the question, “ Shall I be happy enough to meet them where I am now about to go ?—shall those dear last remains, too, become a prey to the devouring deep ? ”—In that instant, reason, suspended by the horrors of the scene, gave way to instinct ; and I rolled my shirt up, and very carefully thrust it into a hole between decks, with the wild hopes that the sleeve buttons might yet escape untouched. Watching my opportunity, I saw a log of wood floating near the vessel, and, waving my hand to Mr. HALL as a last adieu, jumped after it. Here, again, I was doomed to aggravated hardships—I had scarcely touched the log when a great sea snatched it from my hold : still as it came near me, I grasped at it ineffectually, till at last it was completely carried away, but not before it had cut and battered and bruised me in several places, and in a manner that at any other time I should have thought dreadful.

Death seemed inevitable ; and all that occurred to me now to do, was to accelerate it, and get out of its pangs as speedily as possible ; for, though I knew how to swim, the tremendous surf rendered swimming useless, and all hope from it would have been ridiculous. I therefore began to swallow as much water as possible ; yet, still rising by the boyant principle of the waves to the surface, my former thoughts began to recur ; and whether it was that, or natural instinct, which survived the temporary impressions of despair, I know not—but I endeavoured



voured to swim, which I had not done long, when I again discovered the log of wood I had lost floating near me, and with some difficulty caught it: hardly had it been an instant in my hands, when, by the same unlucky means, I lost it again. I had often heard it said in Scotland, that if a man will throw himself flat on his back in the water, lie quite straight and stiff, and suffer himself to sink till the water gets into his ears, he will continue to float so for ever: this occurred to me now, and I determined to try the experiment; so I threw myself on my back in the manner I have described, and left myself to the disposal of providence; nor was it long till I found the truth of the saying—for I floated with hardly an effort, and began for the first time to conceive something like hopes of preservation.

After lying in this manner, committed to the discretion of the tides, I soon saw the vessel—saw that it was at a considerable distance behind me. Liveliest hope began to play about my heart, and joy fluttered with a thousand gay fancies in my mind: I began to form the favourable conclusion, that the tide was carrying me rapidly to land from the vessel, and that I should soon once more touch *terra firma*.

This expectation was a cordial that revived my exhausted spirits: I took courage, and left myself still to the same all-directing Power that had hitherto preserved me, scarcely doubting that I should soon reach the land. Nor was I mistaken; for, in a short time more, without effort or exertion, and without once turning from off my back, I found myself strike against the sandy beach. Overjoyed, as you may well suppose, to the highest pitch of transport at my providential deliverance, I made a convulsive spring, and ran up a little distance on the shore; but was so weak and worn down by fatigue, and so unable to clear my stomach of the salt water with which it was loaded,

loaded, that I suddenly grew deadly sick, and apprehended that I had only exchanged one death for another ; and in a minute or two fainted away.

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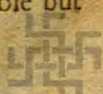
## LETTER XLVII.

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THAT admirable man, and sagacious penetrating philosopher, Dr. FRANKLIN, has left us, among innumerable instructions for the conduct of human life, and for remedying many of the grievances of it, directions for going a voyage at sea, and has particularly enforced the folly of quitting ships hastily, and yielding one's self up to despair. I am convinced, that nine tenths of the people who perish by shipwreck, perish from the want of presence of mind, and sufficient fortitude to bear them out. The unhappy purser, who sat deliberately in a chair, and suffered himself, without a struggle, to be carried overboard, is an instance in point. The feeble conduct of the captain and crew is another. Had he, instead of tearing his hair, raving, and acting the part a bedlamite, encouraged his men, and taken vigorous measures in time ; and had they, instead of whimpering prayers on their knees, and whipping their images, made all clear, and prepared for the worst ; in short, had they, according to the moral of the old fable, put their shoulder to the wheel, instead of calling on Hercules, it is not impossible but the vessel might have been saved.





As for my part, the joy of escaping immediate death made me blind to the other miseries of my situation. Naked, moneyless and friendless, upon an unknown, and probably inhospitable coast, what reasonable cause had I to rejoice? Perhaps the reverse. But that remains to be seen.

How long I continued in the swoon into which I had fallen, it is impossible for me to tell; but, when I recovered, I found myself surrounded by a guard of armed soldiers, sepoys, and pikemen. I knew them immediately to be the troops of HYDER ALI, and almost wished myself back into the waves again. Looking round, I saw that the people and effects that had been saved from the wreck were collected all together along with me.

In this state we remained till it was dark. A Lascar\* belonging to the vessel, perceiving that my nakedness gave me great concern, tore into two a piece of cloth which he had tied round his waist, and gave me one part of it, which afforded a short apron. This simple act of a poor, uninformed black man, whom christian charity would call an idolator, methought had more of the true and essential spirit of charity in it, than half the ostentatious, parading newspaper public charities of London—the slough of purse-proud vanity, and unwieldy bloated wealth. Of all the acts of beneficence that I ever met with, it struck me the most forcibly: it had kindness, disinterestedness and delicacy for its basis; and I have never since thought of it without wishing that I could meet the man, to reward him for his beneficence with a subsistence for life. The lower order of people of a certain country, I know, would think a

\* Natives of India, employed sometimes as sailors, sometimes for inferior offices in the army, such as pitching tents, drawing guns, &c.

man in such circumstances as I was then in, a fitter object of pleasantry than pity.

The vast quantity of salt water I had swallowed, still made me deadly sick in the stomach: however, after some time, I threw it up, and got great relief. I had hardly felt the comfortable effects of this, before I was ordered to march: nine of us, all Lascars except myself, were conveyed to a village at a few miles distance on the sea-side, where we were for the night put into a square place, walled round, open to the inclemency of the weather above and below, and filled with large logs of wood; it blew most violently, and the rain fell in torrents—while not one smooth plank could be found on which to stretch our fatigued and wasted bodies. Thus, naked, sick, exhausted with fatigue and fasting, drenched with wet, and unable to lie down, our misery might be supposed to be incapable of increase. But, alas! where are the bounds which we can set to human woe?—Thirst, that most dreadful of pains, occasioned by the drenching with salt water, seized us: we begged, we entreated, we clamoured for water; but the inhuman wretches, deaf to the groans and screeches of their fellow-creatures, (for some grew delirious with the agony of thirst), refused them even the cheap and miserable indulgence of a drop of water!

The influence of the mind upon the body has been much insisted on by philosophers and physicians, and I believe will be admitted by all wise men. I was myself in this instance, a striking proof of it; for, though I had swallowed and thrown up so much salt water, though my thirst had exceeded any thing I had ever before felt—yet, finding that water was not to be had or expected, I composed my mind to do without it, diverted my thoughts from it by the contemplation of the many other evils which



which beset me, and passed the night without that horrible agony experienced by the others.

Indeed, a night of more exquisite horror cannot be imagined. The thoughts of being a prisoner to HYDER ALLI, was, of itself, sufficient to render me completely unhappy: but my utter want of clothes almost put me beside myself; and lying exposed to the open air, where I was glad to sit close to the Lascars to receive a little heat from their bodies, and to hold open my mouth in order to catch a drop of the descending rain, was a state that might be considered as the highest refinement upon misery.

About four o'clock in the morning, a little cold rice was brought us to eat, and water was dug out of a hole near the spot for us; but as all things in this life are good or bad merely relatively, this wretched fare was some refreshment to us. I was then removed to the ruins of a toddy-hut,\* separated from the rest, and a guard set over me. Here I had full room for reflection, and could "meditate e'en to madness." The whole of my situation appeared before me with all its aggravating circumstances of horror; and to any one who considers it, I believe it will appear that it was hardly possible to fill the bitter cup of calamity fuller. Oh! what were my thoughts! My family bereft of him on whose efforts they were in a great measure to depend for support and protection—you, then a little innocent cherub, appeared to my distracted imagination twining round your mother's neck, and, in infant clamour, calling your father—while he, in a dreadful captivity, compared with which even a cruel death were mercy, lay wasting, naked and forlorn, perishing with the

\* A small temporary hut, where *toddy* (a liquor extracted from the cocoa-nut tree) is sold.

inclemency of the weather, wanting even food fit for his support, and exposed to the scourge of every petty tyrant that barbarous power might employ to guard him!—Such were my reflections: they were in reason well founded; for there was no probability of my being ever released, as my captivity was unlikely to be known to my country, or by my friends.

In this state I was, when, to my utter astonishment, and to my no less joy, the amiable companion of my shipwreck, Mr. HALL, appeared before me. I scarcely knew how to think his appearance reality, as I understood that the Lascars then along with me were all that were saved from the wreck; and he was, at the time I parted from him, so exhausted both in body and mind, that I thought he would be the last who could escape. He, however, shook me by the hand; and, sitting down, told me that he had given me up for lost, and remained with the vessel until the tide, having ebbed, left her almost dry—that, immediately on getting ashore, and being taken prisoner, he made inquiries about me, and heard that I had been saved—that, finding this, his joy was such as to make him almost forget his own misfortunes—and, exerting all his entreaties not to be separated from me, they had been so far indulgent to him, and had brought him to me, that we might be companions in bondage. He added, that out of eleven Europeans and fifty-six Lascars who were on board, only he and I of the former, and fourteen of the latter, were saved from the wreck, the rest having been drowned in the attempt, excepting some who, overcome with terror, anguish and anxiety, and exhausted with fatigue, had bid a formal adieu to their companions, let go their hold, and calmly and voluntarily given themselves up to the deep.

I here



I here took occasion to remark to him, what I have already said to you, that thousands lose their lives for want of perseverance, fortitude, and courage, to preserve them—Had the English Purser collected courage enough to hold fast till the tide ebbed, he might have been safe on shore as we were, as he was superior to either of us in bodily strength.

“Ah! my friend!” said he, shaking his head despondingly—“is he worse where he is? I doubt whether death is not far preferable to our present prospects.”

“Come, come,” said I, perceiving he was melancholy, though I myself laboured under all the horrors he expressed—“come, let us not think; all will yet be well: I foresee it will; and you must know I have something of the prophet in my nature—perhaps the second sight.” I then told him my presentiments on leaving Goa, which much astonished him—still more when I acquainted him with the formal acts I had done in consequence thereof, by Mr. HENSHAW’s advice, and with his privity.

In fact, our joy at meeting was reciprocally great, and in some respect cheered us for the time under all our miseries in hand, and the dreary prospect of those yet to come.

Perceiving that he stood as much in need of relief as I did when the Lascar relieved me by dividing his cloth, I took mine off, tore it in two, and gave him half of it: you may well conceive our misery from this, if other circumstances were wanting, that such a thing as a rag of linen, not worth six pence, was a very material accommodation to us both.



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 LETTER XLVIII.
 

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YOUR letter, occasioned by the account of my shipwreck and subsequent disaster, gave me, my amiable boy ! as great pleasure as those disasters gave me pain. Your account, too, of JOHN's bursting into tears on the reading of it to him, had almost a similar effect upon myself: and I trust in the Almighty disposer of events, that that excellent turn of mind will be so fashioned by the education I give you, as to make it the source of boundless gratification and true greatness (by which I mean goodness) here, and of never-fading felicity hereafter. You say you cannot account for it, but you found more happiness at my escape, than misery at my misfortunes. I hail that circumstance as the strongest mark of perfect excellence of disposition. A great moral philosopher has laid it down as a maxim, that it is the surer mark of a good heart to sympathise with joy than with sorrow; and this instance only comes in aid of that opinion of you which my fond hopes have always nourished.

At the same time I must declare to you, that my pleasure at escaping shipwreck was by no means as great as the agony my mind underwent at the prospect now before me was poignant. I have already said, and indeed with truth, that I should have with much greater pleasure embraced death: I, who had been already some years in India, and had oppor-



tunities of hearing, as well from my father as from other officers in the service, what the disposition of the tyrant in whose power I had now fallen was, knew too well the horrors of my situation to feel any thing like hope. The unmerciful disposition of HYDER, and all those in authority under him, and the cruel policy of the Eastern chiefs, making the life of any one, particularly a British prisoner, at the best a precarious tenure, I did not know the moment when death might be inflicted upon me with perhaps a thousand aggravating circumstances: and at all events, the affairs which demanded my presence in India so very importunately as to urge me to all the fatigues and hardships of a passage over land, were, of themselves, sufficient to make my mind uneasy; but the abject state of want and nakedness in which it seemed I was likely to remain, struck a deep and damp horror to my heart, and almost unman'd me.

Mr. HALL and I, however, endeavoured with all our might to stem the headlong torrent of our fate—Melancholy preyed deeply and openly upon him, while I concealed mine, and endeavoured to cheer the sinking spirits of that noble youth, who, I perceived was the prey rather of extreme sensibility than feebleness of mind. All the horrors of shivering nakedness, though, to a mind delicate like his, and a person reared in the lap of luxury, sufficiently goading, appeared as nothing when compared with one loss he had sustained in the depredations with which shipwreck is constantly followed up. In the cruel suspense between life and death, which I have already described, previous to my getting on shore, this amiable young man had secured and treasured next his heart, as the inseparable companion of his fate, a miniature portrait of a young lady; it hung round his neck, and was, by the unfeeling villains

who

who seized him on his landing, taken away. This cruel deprivation was an incessant corrosive to his mind—the copious source of anguish to his heart—the hourly theme of the most pathetic, afflicting exclamations. “Had I,” he would cry, “oh! had I had but the good fortune to have gone to the bottom while yet it hung about my neck, I should have been happy: but now, separated from the heavenly original, and bereft of the precious image, what is life? what would be life were I yet sure of it? What pleasure, what common content, has the world left for me? None—oh! none, none! Never shall this heart again know comfort!

I did every thing I could to console him, and, as far as I could, prevent him from dwelling on those gloomy subjects. Our conversations were interesting and pathetic; but, alas! the picture, at every pause, chased away the slight impressions of the preceding converse: no sufferings of the body could countervail that loss—no consolation mitigate it; and amidst the horrid reflections which unparalleled calamity imposed upon his mind, the loss of that one dear relic rose paramount to all—and as every thought began, so it ended, with the picture.

For some days we lay in this place, exposed to the weather, without even the slender comfort of a little straw to cover the ground beneath us—our food, boiled rice, served very sparingly twice a-day by an old woman, who just threw a handful or more of it to each upon a very dirty board, which we devoured with those spoons nature gave us.

At the end of that time, we, and, along with us, the Lascars, were ordered to proceed into the country, and drove on foot to a considerable distance, in order to render up an account of ourselves to persons belonging to government, authorised to take it. It was advanced in the morning when we

moved,



moved, without receiving any sort of sustenance; and were marched in that wasting climate eight hours, without breaking our fast; during which time we were exposed alternately to the scorching heat of the sun and heavy torrents of rain, which raised painful blisters on our skin: we had often to stand exposed to the weather, or to lie down, under the pressure of fatigue and weakness, on the bare ground; then wait an hour, or more, at the door of some insolent, unfeeling monster, until he finished his dinner, or took his afternoon's nap; and when this was over, drove forward with wanton barbarity by the people who attended us.

YOU, my FREDERICK! who only know the mild and merciful disposition of the people of Great Britain, where government, religion, and long habit, have reduced charity and benevolence so completely to a system that they seem to be innate principles of the mind, can have no conception of a people who will not only look upon the worst human afflictions with indifference, but take a savage delight in the miseries of their fellow-creatures, even where no possible advantage can be reaped from their inhumanity, and where the only reward they can propose to themselves for their cruelty is the pleasure of contemplating human sufferings.

Such, sorry am I to say it, is the disposition of some parts of the East Indies that I have been in; and although those parts under the dominion of Great Britain owe their emancipation from the most galling yokes to the English—and though, under their auspices, they live in a state of greater happiness than ever they did, and greater freedom even than Britons themselves—yet such is the wicked ingratitude of many of them, such the inflexible animosity arising from a contradictory religion, that the death or suffering of an Englishman, or any misfortune

fortune that may befall him, often serves only as matter of sport or amusement to them. It would be well if it rested there—but unfortunately they are worse again; for in general they have the like coldness and indifference, or indeed, to speak more properly, the like aversion, to each other's good, and the same diabolical principles of selfishness and treachery pervade the greater number in those vast regions, almost boundless in extent, and almost matchless in fertility.

Two days after this, we were moved again, and marched up the country by a long and circuitous route, in which we underwent every hardship that cruelty could inflict, or human fortitude endure—now blistered with the heat, now drenched with the rain, and now chilled with the night damps—destitute of any place but the bare earth to rest or lay our heads on, with only a scanty pittance of boiled rice for our support—often without water to quench our thirst, and constantly goaded by the guards, who pricked us with their bayonets every now and then, at once to evince their power, entertain the spectators, and mortify us. We arrived at Hydernagur, the metropolis of the province of Biddanore—a sort of considerable strength, mounting upwards of seventy guns, containing a large garrison of men, and possessed of immense wealth.

It was about two o'clock in the morning when we arrived at Biddanore: the day was extremely hot, and we were kept out under the full heat of that broiling sun till six o'clock in the evening, before we were admitted to an audience of the Jemadar, or governor of the place, without having a mouthful of victuals offered to us after the fatiguing march of the morning.

While we stood in this forlorn state, a vast concourse of people collected about, and viewed us with



curiosity. Looking round through those who stood nearest, I observed some men gazing at me with strong marks of emotion, and a mixture of wonder and concern portrayed in their countenances. Surprised to see such symptoms of humanity in a Mysorian Indian, I looked at them with more scrutinizing attention, and thought that their faces were familiar to me. Catching my eye, they looked at me significantly, as though they would express their regard and respect for me, if they dared; and I then began to recollect that they were formerly privates in my regiment of cavalry, and were then prisoners at large with HYDER.

I was not less surprised that those poor fellows should recognise me in my present miserable fallen state, than affected at the sympathetic feeling they disclosed. I returned their look with a private nod of recognition; but, seeing that they were afraid to speak to me, and fearing I might injure them by disclosing our acquaintance, I forbore any thing more. The guilty souls of despotic governments are perpetually alive to suspicion: every look alarms them; and alarm or suspicion never fails to be followed up with proscription or death.

Men, when in the fullness of power and pride of office, very seldom give themselves time to reflect upon the instability of human greatness, and the uncertainty of earthly contingencies. When, invested with all the trappings of authority, I commanded the regiment to which those poor fellows belonged, I would have thought that he spoke wildly indeed who would have alledged that it was possible I could ever become an object of their pity—that I should stand naked and degraded before them, and they be afraid to acknowledge me: but, though I should have thought so then, it was yet some comfort to me, when that unfortunate event did come to pass,

to reflect, that, when in power, I made such use of it as to excite emotions in their bosoms of affection and respect. Did the tyrant and overbearing insolent chiefs consider this, and govern themselves by its instructions, they would go into the field with the consoling reflection, that no gun would be levelled at their head except that of the common enemy—a thing that does not always happen.

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## LETTER XLIX.

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HAD we been made prisoners of war in battle against an enemy, there is no law of nature or nations, no rule of reason or principle of equity, that could palliate such treatment as that which we now received: but, cast by misfortune and shipwreck on their shore, we were entitled to solace and protection. The worst wretches who hang out false beacons on the western coasts of England, to allure ships to their destruction, would not be cruel without temptation; and, if they did not expect to gain some profit by it, would rather decline knocking their fellow-creatures in the head: but those barbarians, without any profit but what a malignant heart derives from the miseries of others, or any pleasure but what proceeds from their pain, exercised upon us the most wanton cruelty. Compared with such treatment, instant death would have been an act of mercy to us; and we should have had reason to bless the hand that inflicted it.



Mortifications of one sort or other—the incessant torturing of the mind on the rack of suspense—the injuries to the animal system, occasioned by constant exposure to the weather, and the want of food—all conspired to reduce me to the dimensions and feebleness of a skeleton. I had grown daily weaker and weaker, and was now nearly exhausted, and quite faint; while, on the other hand, my amiable companion in affliction was reduced by a dysentery, which attacked him soon after our shipwreck, and which the torments of his mind, the want of medicine and comfortable food, and, above all, the alternate violent changes from profuse perspiration in walking to chilling cold at night, had increased to such an alarming degree, that he was obliged to be carried the two last days journey:—In this state, we appeared to each other as two spectres hanging over the brink of the grave: and in truth, perceiving the rapid progress he was making to his dissolution, I was affected to a degree, that, while it really exasperated my own worn-down state, deprived me of all attention to the rapid decline I was falling into, and almost entirely engrossed my care. In my progress through life, I have had occasion to try several men, and have found among them many who were every thing that a good heart could wish to find: but this young gentleman had at once so much suavity and spirit—such gentleness and fortitude—his sufferings (those of his mind, as well as those of his body) were so exquisite, and he bore them with such meekness, tempered by such uninterrupted good humour, and concealed and managed with so much delicacy, that I do not transgress the bounds of truth when I say I never met one who so entirely interested my feelings, and attached my friendship so unalterably, upon principles of instinctive impulse, as well as reason. Impelled by the irresistible claims he had

upon my approbation and esteem, I entered with all the warmth of a brother into his sufferings, and can assert with truth that they constituted the severest trials I underwent during my whole imprisonment.

While we stood in the court, waiting to be brought before the Jemadar, we presented a spectacle that would have wrung pity, one would think, from the heart of a tiger, if a tiger was endued with reflection. At length we were summoned to appear before him, and brought into his presence. I had made up my mind for the occasion—determined to deport myself in a manly, candid manner—and to let no consideration whatsoever lead me to any thing disgraceful to my real character, or unworthy my situation in life; and, finally, had prepared myself to meet, without shrinking, whatever misfortunes might yet be in store for me, or whatever cruelties the barbarous disposition or wicked policy of the Tyrant might think proper to inflict.

On entering, we found the Jemadar in full Durbar.\* He was then occupied with the reading of dispatches, and in transacting other public business. We were placed directly opposite to him, where we stood for near an hour, during which time he never cast his eyes towards us: but when at last he had concluded the business, in which he was engaged, and deigned to look at us, we were ordered to prostrate ourselves before him: the Lascars immediately obeyed the order, and threw themselves on the ground; but I contented myself with making a salam, in which poor Mr. HALL, who knew not the Eastern manner as I did, followed my example.

As soon as this ceremony was over, the Jemadar (who was no other man than the famous HYAT SAHIB that has made some noise in the history of that

\* Court.



war) began to question me. He desired to know, who I was?—what my profession was?—what was the cause and manner of my approaching the country of HYDER ALLI?—To all those questions I gave answers that seemed to satisfy him. He then asked me, what news I had brought with me from Europe?—inquired into the state of the army, and number of recruits dispatched in the ships of that season—was minute and circumstantial in his questions respecting the nature and success of the war in Europe—and examined me closely, touching the resources of the East India Company. I saw his drift, and was cautious and circumspect in my answers, and at the same time contrived to speak with an air of candour that in some sort satisfied him.

Having exhausted his whole string of questions, he turned the discourse to another subject—no less than his great and puissant Lord and Master, HYDER, of whom he had endeavoured to impress me with a great, if not terrible idea—amplifying his power, his wealth, and the extent and opulence of his dominions—and describing to me, in the most exaggerated terms, the number of his troops—his military talents—his vast, and, according to his account, unrivalled genius—his amazing abilities in conquering and governing Nations—and, above all, his many amiable qualities, and splendid endowments of heart, no less than understanding.

Having thus, with equal zeal and fidelity, endeavoured to impress me with veneration for his Lord and Master, and for that purpose attributed to him every perfection that may be supposed to be divided among all the Kings and Generals that have lived since the birth of CHRIST, and given each their due, he turned to the English Government, and endeavoured to demonstrate to me the folly and inutility of our attempting to resist his progress,

which

which he compared to that of the sea, to a tempest, to a torrent, to a lion's pace and fury—to every thing that an Eastern imagination could suggest as a figure proper to exemplify grandeur and irresistible power. He then vaunted of his Sovereign's successes over the English, some of which I had not heard of before, and did not believe; and concluded by assuring me, that it was HYDER's determination to drive all Europeans from Indostan, which he averred he could not fail to do, considering the weakness of the one, and boundless power of the other. This part of HYAT SAHIB's discourse is well worth your remembering, as it will serve to make a very diverting contrast with his subsequent conduct.

After having expended near half an hour in this manner, he called upon me to come over near him, and caused me to seat myself upon a mat with a pillow to lean upon—encouraged me, by every means he could, by the most gentle accents, and the most soothing, mollifying language, to speak to him without the least reserve—exhorted me to tell him the truth in every thing we spoke of—and hinted to me, that my falling into his hands might turn out the most fortunate event of my life.

I was at a loss to what motive to attribute all those singular marks of indulgence; but found that he had learned whose son I was, and knew my father by reputation from the prisoners, our Sepoys, who were now prisoners at large here: and as rank and office are the chief recommendation in the East, as well as elsewhere, or rather much more than any where else, the sagacious HYAT SAHIB found many claims to esteem and humanity in me as the son of a Colonel CAMPBELL, which he never would have found in me had I been the son of a plain humble farmer or tradesman in England.



After a full hour's audience, in which HYAT SAHIB treated me with distinguished marks of his favour, considering my situation, he dismissed me with the ceremony of beetle-nut,\* rose-water, and other compliments, which are in that country held as the strongest marks of politeness, respect, and good-will.

Leaving the Durbar; I was led to the inner fort or citadel: and the officious zeal of those about me, unwilling to let me remain ignorant of that which they conceived to be a most fortunate turn in my affairs, gave the *coup de grace* to my miseries as I went along, by congratulating me on the favourable opinion which the Jemadar had formed of me, and intimating at the same time that I would soon be honoured with a respectable command in HYDER's service.

If I was miserable before, this intimation entirely destroyed the last remnant of peace or hope. I was determined to die a thousand deaths sooner than serve any State hostile to Great Britain—but still more a Tyrant, whose country, nature and principles I detested, and could never think of without the greatest horror; and I judged, that if such an offer should be made, and I refused it, my life would fall a sacrifice to their rage and disappointment, or at least I should live a life of imprisonment, and never more behold country, family, friends, connections, or any thing that I valued in life.

That night the Jemadar sent me an excellent supper, of not less than six dishes, from his own table; and although I had been so long famishing with the want of wholesome food, the idea of being enlisted in the service of HYDER struck me with such horror, that I lost all appetite, and was scarcely able to eat a

\* An aromatic nut which the East Indians chew; it is warm and astringent, and considered by them a great restorative.

mouthful. Mr. HALL and I, however, were separated from the Lascars, who were released and forced to work.

Notwithstanding the favourable intentions manifested towards me by the Jemadar, as I have already mentioned, no mark of it whatsoever appeared in our lodging. This consisted of a small place, exactly the size of our length and breadth, in the zig-zag of one of the gates of the citadel : it was open in front, but covered with a kind of a shed on the top ; and a number of other prisoners were about us : each of us was allowed a mat and pillow, and this formed the whole of our local accommodations. Upon my remarking it, we were told, that in conformity to the custom of the Circar,\* we must be treated so for some time, but that our accommodations would afterwards be extended, and made more agreeable to our wishes : even this was better than our situation since we landed.

In addition to this luxury, we were allowed to the value of four pence halfpenny a day for our maintenance ; and a guard of Sepoys was put over us and a few more prisoners, one of whom was directed to go and purchase our victuals, and do such like offices for us.

This guard was changed every week—a strong mark of the suspicious and wary tempers of those people, who could fear intrigues and cabals between wretched prisoners like us and their soldiers.

In two or three days after this, HYAT SAHIB sent for me, treated me with great kindness, gave me some tea, and furnished me with two or three shirts, an old coat, and two pairs of breeches, which were stripped from the dead bodies that were thrown ashore from the wreck—every thing that was saved

\* Country or Province.



from it being sent to Biddanore. At this interview he treated me with great respect—gave me, besides the articles already mentioned, thirty rupees—and, upon my going away, told me that in a few days a very flattering proposal would be made to me, and that my situation would be rendered not only comfortable, but enviable.

It is impossible for me to express to you, my dear FREDERICK! the horror I felt at the idea of this intended proposal—for I knew but too well what it meant. It was the source of bitter misery to my mind: nevertheless, I determined to resist every effort that should be made, whether blandishment, intreaty, or menace—to lay down my life itself, though in obscurity, with honour—and to carry along with me, go where I would, the consciousness of having done my duty.

I have in the course of my life met with many people, who, under the plausible pretext of liberality and greatness of mind, have called themselves citizens of the world, and declared that the country where they lived, be that what country it might, was their's, and demanded their allegiance and protection: but I have always shrewdly suspected, that such men act from a consciousness of being outcasts of their own country—and, scorned and rejected by their fellow-citizens, would retaliate by affecting to deny their natural attachment. There are men who neither love father, mother, sister, brother, or connection: such, however, are, thank God! very thinly sown in this world; but, except it be a few such unnatural people, I am convinced that there is no one whose heart does not confess the patriotic passion, and burn with a flame, more or less ardent, of love for his country. My predilections that way are naturally strong, and I am now happy to reflect that I evinced them by the most unequivocal proofs:

had I not, I were indeed, in my own opinion, fit for any punishment, however ignominious; and to all such as lift their arms against their country, as to Parricides, I will say, in the words of the poet,

“ Never pray more—abandon all remorse :  
 “ On horror’s head, horrors accumulate ;  
 “ Do deeds to make Heaven weep—all earth amaz’d ;  
 “ For nothing can’st thou to damnation add,  
 “ Greater than that.”

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## LETTER L.

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ON the evening of that day on which the Jemadar HYAT SAHIB had honoured me with an audience, given me clothes and money, and informed me that a proposal, which he called flattering, would be made to me, I was sent for to attend, not at the Durbar, but at the house of a man high in office. As I expected to meet HYAT SAHIB himself, and trembled at the thoughts of his expected proposition, I was surprised, and indeed pleased, to find that it was with one of his people only I was to have a conference. This man, whose name I now forget, received me with great kindness, encouraged me, made me sit down with him, and began to speak of HYAT SAHIB, whom he extolled to the skies, as a person endowed with every great and amiable quality; informing me at the same time, that he was possessed of the friendship and confidence of his master, HYDER ALLI, in a greater degree than any other person—TIPPOO SAHIB, his own son, not excepted:



cepted: he then gave me the private history of HYAT—saying, that he was born a Gentoo prince, of one of the provinces of the Malabar coast, which had fallen beneath the irresistible arms of HYDER, and had been by him annexed to the vast Mysorean Empire. HYAT, he said, was then only a boy of eleven or twelve years of age, of a most promising genius, and a quickness of mind unusually met with in one of those tender years. HYDER, who was in all respects a man of unrivalled penetration, thought he saw in the boy that which, if properly cultivated, would turn out of vast use to a state; and as, in all Mahomedan governments, unconnected, isolated boys, oft-times slaves, are bred up in the seraglio to succeed to the great offices of the state, HYDER adopted the boy, had him made a Mahomedan, and, in fact, treated him as if he had been the issue of his own loins, and brought him up with all the affection and tenderness of a fond parent. I am the more particular in stating this part of HYAT's history to you, as some respectable historians, deceived by erroneous report, have said that he was the illegitimate offspring of HYDER. The sultan, however, was not disappointed in the expectations he had formed; for HYAT SAHIB had, in zeal, fidelity and attachment, as well as in intellectual faculties and talents for governing, even surpassed the warmest hopes of his master.

Having given me this concise account of the Jemadar, he proceeded to inform me, that the Arcot Sepoys, whom I have before mentioned to you, had discovered to HYAT SAHIB who I was, given him a full account of my family, and informed him that I had commanded a regiment of cavalry in the service of the Nabob of Arcot, together with a corps of infantry and artillery attached to it. In consequence of this report, HYAT SAHIB, he said,

had interested himself very warmly in my favour, and expressed an anxious desire to render me a service.

Thus far the discourse pleased me. Nothing was said in it to give me alarm; on the contrary, I indulged a hope, that, knowing my rank, and the rank of my father, he would no longer entertain a hope of my entering into the service of HYDER, and, for the time I was to be imprisoned, treat me with suitable indulgence. But I flattered myself too soon; or, as the old saying is, "reckoned without my host."

When he had finished his history of HYAT SAHIB, which he overcharged with fulsome panegyric, he told me, with a face full of that triumphant importance which one who thinks he is conferring a great favour generally assumes, that it was the intention of HYAT SAHIB, for and on behalf of his master the Sultan, to give me the command of five thousand men—an offer which he supposed I could not think of declining, and therefore expected no other answer but a profusion of thanks, and strong manifestations of joy on my part.

It is not possible for me to describe to you my dismay at this formal proposal, or pourtray to you the various emotions that took possession of my breast. Resentment had its share—the pride of the soldier, not unaccompanied with the pride of family and rank, while it urged me to spurn from me such a base accommodation, made me consider the offer as a great insult. I therefore paused a little, to suppress my feelings; and then told him my firm resolution, never to accept of such a proposal; and upon his expressing great astonishment at my declining a station so fraught with advantage, I laid down, in the best manner I could, my reasons; and I must say, that he listened to all the objections I started



with great patience; but, in the conclusion, said he had little doubt of finding means to overcome my reluctance.

He dismissed me for the present, and I returned to my prison, where I related to my companion, Mr. HALL, every thing that passed between us: we canvassed the matter fully, and he agreed with me, that it was likely to turn out a most dreadful and cruel persecution. It was on this occasion that I first felt the truth of the principle, that persecution never fails to be subversive of its own end, and to promote that which it is intended to destroy. There is, in the human mind, an innate abhorrence of compulsion; and persecution always gives new strength and elasticity to the soul; and at last, when strained to its utmost extent, makes man surmount difficulties which at first seem to be beyond the reach of humanity.

Piqued by the idea of persecution, I began to feel a degree of enthusiasm which I was before a stranger to: I looked forward, with a kind of gloomy pleasure, to the miseries that brutal tyranny might inflict upon me, even to death itself; and already began to indulge the exultation of martyrdom. "No," said I, "my dear HALL! never will I tarnish the character of a British soldier—never will I disgrace my blood or my profession—never shall an act of mine sully the pure fame of my revered father—never shall any sufferings of mine, however poignant, or worldly advantage, however seductive, tempt me to do that which his noble spirit would regard with horror or contempt. I may, and I foresee I must be miserable; but I never will be base or degenerate!" Indeed, I had wrought myself up to such a pitch of firmness, that I am persuaded the most exquisite and refined cruelties which the in-

genuity of an Iroquois Indian could have inflicted on my body, would have been utterly incapable of bending the stubborn temper of my mind.

The place in which we were lodged was situated in a way not very favourable to our feelings. Just within sight of it, the commandant of the citadel held a court—by him yclep'd a court of justice—where the most shocking, barbarous cruelties were hourly exercised—most of them for the purpose of extorting money, and compelling the discovery of hidden, or suppositious hidden treasures. Indeed, five sixths of those who suffered were of this description; and the process pursued was as artful as barbarous: they first began with caresses, then proceeded to examination and cross-examination, thence to threats, thence to punishment, and, finally, to the most cruel tortures.

Directly opposite to us, was imprisoned an unfortunate person, who had for years been a close captive, and the sport and subject of those enormities. He was a man once of the highest rank in the country where now he was a prisoner: for a series of years he had been governor and sole manager of the whole province of Bidanore. This was during the reign of the last Rana, or Queen, whose family had been sovereigns of the country for time immemorial, till HYDER made a conquest of, and annexed it to his other usurpations. Unfortunately for him, he was supposed to have amassed and secreted enormous treasures, in consequence of which he had already undergone the fiery ordeal of torture several times. He was supposed to have produced, from first to last, about fifteen lacks of pagodas; and then, in the course of eighteen months, was degraded gradually, from the high respect in which he was at first held, down to a most abject state—threatened, flogged, punished in a variety of ways, and, finally, put



to the most cruel tortures. I myself saw him treated with the highest degree of respect, and afterwards brought to the lowest stage of misery and humiliation. One thing, however, I must not forget, is the fortitude with which he and all of them bore their punishment: it was truly heroic—indeed, beyond all belief. Nothing could surpass it, except the skill and inventive ingenuity which the barbarians exhibited in striking out new modes of torture. My soul sickened with horror at the sight: the amiable HALL could worse support it than his own miseries, and lost all that fortitude, in his feeling for others' misfortunes, which he displayed in so unbounded a share in his own: and often, very often, we found the rigour and severity of our own situation utterly forgotten in our anguish and sympathy for the sufferings of others. Never shall I forget it: never shall I think without horror of the accursed policy and wicked tyranny of the Eastern governments, where every sense of humanity is extinguished, and man, more merciless than the tiger, riots in the blood of his fellow-creatures without cause.

Mr. HALL, notwithstanding the various sufferings both of mind and body which he had undergone, began to recruit, and get a little better; and this circumstance, of itself, diffused a flow of spirits over me that contributed to my support. We consoled each other by every means we could devise—sometimes indulging in all the luxury of woe—sometimes rallying each other, and, with ill-dissembled sprightliness, calling on the goddess EUPHROSUNE to come with her "*quirps and cranks, and wreathed smiles*:" but, alas! the mountain nymph, sweet LIBERTY, was far away, and the goddess shunned our abode. We however began to conceive that we might form a system for our relief, and by a methodical arrangement,

ment, entrench ourselves from the assaults of grief: to this end, we formed several resolutions, and entered into certain engagements—such as, never to repine at our fate, *if we could*—to draw consolation from the more dreadful lot of others, *if we could*;—and to encourage hope—hope that comes to all; and, on the whole, to confine our conversation as much as possible to subjects of an agreeable nature: but these, like many other rules which we lay down for the conduct of life, were often broken by necessity, and left us to regret the fallibility of all human precautionary systems.

The youth and strength of Mr. HALL was to the full as adequate as mine to the support of any personal hardship: his intellectual powers were excellent, his temper incomparable, and his fortitude unparalleled; yet could I see, that something more than appeared upon the surface wrought within him, and gnawed his heart with hidden pain. United as we were by sentiment, as well as by parity of suffering, I felt for him too deeply, not to have an interesting curiosity to know what it was that preyed upon his mind: we had now been, months together, fellow-sufferers; and I thought myself not without some claim to his confidence—I told him so, and desired him to impart to me his story; which he, with his accustomed suavity and condescension, agreed to—assuring me that it was not such a story as could requite the trouble of hearing it, or interest any one but himself, or some very warm friend indeed: such, however, he added, he took me to be; and, as such, would tell it to me. I think it, however, worth relating, and will give it to you in his own words; and, though it be very short, must defer the relation to another letter.



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LETTER II.

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MR. HALL having, as I told you in my last, obligingly agreed to favour me with a relation of his story, I now give it to you as nearly in his own words as I can remember them. He proceeded thus :

“ Although you are now, my dear friend ! a witness to my being the most perfectly wretched of all created beings, yet the time is not long past when fortune smiled upon and gave me promise of as much happiness as Man in this wretched vale of tears is allowed by his circumscribed nature to hope for. I have seen the time, when each revolving sun rose to usher me to a day of joy, and set to consign me to a night of undisturbed repose—when the bounties of Nature, and the productions of Art, were poured with the profusion of fond paternal affection into my lap—when troops of friends hailed my rising prospects—when health and peace made this person their uninterrupted abode—and when the most benignant love that ever blessed a mortal filled up the measure of my bliss. Yes, CAMPBELL ! it was once my happiness, though now, alas ! the source of poignant misery, to be blessed with the best parents that ever watched over the welfare of a child—with friends, too, who loved me, and whom my heart cherished—and—O God ! do I think of her, and yet retain my senses—with the affections of a young lady,

lady, than whom providence, in the fullness of its power and bounty to mankind, never formed one more lovely, one more angelic in person, more heavenly in disposition, more rich in intellectual endowments. Alas ! my friend, will you, can you pardon those warm ebullitions of a fond passion ? will you for a moment enter into my feelings, and make allowance for those transports ? But how can you ? Your friendship and pity may indeed induce you to excuse this interruption ; but, to sympathise truly, and feel as I feel, you must have known the charming girl herself.

“ My father, though he did not move in the very first walk of life, held the rank of a Gentleman by birth and education, and was respectable, not only as a man of considerable property, but as a person who knew how to turn the gifts of fortune to their best account : he was generous without prodigality, and charitable without ostentation : he was allowed by all who knew him to be the most tender of husbands—the most zealous and sincere of friends ; and I can bear witness to his being the best of parents. As long as I can remember to have been able to make a remark, the tenderness of both my father and mother knew no bounds : I seemed to occupy all their thoughts, all their attention ; and in a few years, as I thank God I never made an unsuitable return for their affection, it increased to such a degree, that their existence seemed to hang upon mine.

“ To make as much of a child so beloved as his natural talents would allow, no expence was spared in my education : from childhood, every instruction that money could purchase, and every allure-ment to learn that fondness could suggest, were bestowed upon me ; while my beloved father tracing the advances I made with the magnifying eye of affection,



affection, would hang over me in rapture, and enjoy by anticipation the fame and honours that, overweening fondness suggested to him, must one day surround me. These prejudices, my dear friend! arising from the excess of natural affection, are excusable, if not amiable, and deserve a better fate than disappointment. Alas! my honoured father, you little knew—and, oh! may you never know, what sort of fame, what sort of honours, await your child! May the anguish he endures, and his most calamitous fate, never reach your ears!—for, too well I know, 'twould give a deadly wrench to your heart, and precipitate you untimely to your grave.

“ Thus years rolled on; during which, time seemed to have added new wings to his flight, so quickly did they pass. Unmarked by any of those sinister events that parcel out the time in weary stages to the unfortunate, it slid on unperceived; and an enlargement in my size, and an increase of knowledge, were all I had to inform me that eighteen years had passed away.

“ It was at this time that I first found the smooth current of my tranquillity interrupted, and the tide of my feelings swelled and agitated, by the accession of new streams of sensation—In short I became a slave to the delicious pains of Love; and, after having borne them in concealment for a long time, at length collected courage to declare it. Frankness and candour were among the virtues of my beloved: she listened to the protestations of affection, and, rising above the little arts of her sex, avowed a reciprocal attachment. The measure of my bliss seemed now to be full; the purity of my passion was such, that the thoughts of the grosser animal desires never once occurred; and happy in loving, and being beloved, we passed our time in all the innocent blandishments which truly virtuous love in-

spires,

spires, without our imagination roaming even for an instant into the wilds of sensuality.

“As I was to inherit a genteel, independent fortune, my father proposed to breed me up to a learned profession—the Law; rather to invigorate and exercise my intellects, and as a step to rank in the state, than for mere lucrative purposes. I was put to one of the universities, with an allowance suited to his intentions towards me; and was immediately to have been sent to travel for my further improvement, when an unforeseen accident happened, which immediately crushed all my fathers views, dashed the cup of happiness from my lips, and brought me ultimately to that deplorable state in which you have now the misfortune to be joined along with me.

“It was but a few months antecedent to my embarking for the eastern world,, that my father, whom I had for some time with sorrow observed thoughtful, studious and melancholy, took me into his study, and, seizing my hand, and looking earnestly into my face, while his countenance betrayed the violent agitation of his mind, asked me emphatically, if I thought I had fortitude to bear the greatest possible calamity? I was horror-struck at his emotion, accompanied by such a question—but replied, I hoped I had. He then asked me if I had affection enough for him to forgive him if he was the cause of it? I answered, that the idea connected with the word *forgiveness*, was that which I could never be brought by any earthly circumstance to apply to my father; but begged him at once to disclose the worst to me—as, be it what it might, my misery could not surpass what I then felt from the mysterious manner in which he then spoke.

“He then told me that he was an undone man—that he had, with the very best intentions, and with the view of aggrandizing me, engaged in great and

important



important speculations, which, had they succeeded, would have given us a princely fortune—but, having turned out, unfortunately, the reverse, had left him little above beggary. He added, that he had not the resolution to communicate his losses to me, until necessity compelled him to tell me all the truth.

“ Although this was a severe shock to me, I endeavoured to conceal my feelings from my father, on whose account, more than on my own, I was affected, and pretended to make as light of it as so very important a misfortune would justify; and I had the happiness to perceive that the worthy man took some comfort from my supposed indifference. I conjured him not to let so very trivial a thing as the loss of property, which could be repaired, break in on his peace of mind or health, which could not; and observed to him, that we had all of us still enough—for that my private property (which I possessed independent of him, and which a relation left me) would amply supply all our necessities.

“ Having thus endeavoured to accommodate my unhappy father's feelings to his losses, I had yet to accommodate my own; and began to revolve in my mind what was likely to ensue from, and what step was most proper to be taken, in this dreadful change of circumstances. That which lay nearest my heart first occurred;—you will readily guess that I mean my love; to involve her I loved more, far more, than my life, in the misfortunes of my family, was too horrible a consideration to be outweighed even by the dread of losing her. I knew not what to do, and I thought upon it till I became almost enfrenzied—In this state I went to her, and unfolded the whole state of our concerns, together with my resolution not to involve her in our ruin;—when—can you believe it?—the lovely girl insisted on making my fate indissolubly her's—not, as she said, that she had the

smallest apprehension lapse of time or change of circumstance could make an alteration in our affection, but that she wished to give my mind that repose which I might derive from security. This I would by no means accede to; and, for the present, we contented ourselves with mutual vows of eternal fidelity.

“As soon as I thought my father’s mind fit for such a conversation, I opened to him a plan I had formed of coming to India, to advance my fortune. His understanding approved of it, but his heart dissented; and he said, that to part with me would give the finishing stroke to his misfortunes: but, as my interest was tolerably good, I represented to him the great likelihood I had of success; and at last, with some difficulty, he consented.

“My next step was to acquaint Miss —— with my resolution. I purposely pass over a meeting which no power of language can describe!—then how can I?—Oh! CAMPBELL, the remembrance of it gnaws me like a vulture here,” (and he put his hand upon his heart, while the tears rolled down his cheeks), “and will soon, soon bring me to my end.

“Not to detain you with vain efforts to describe all our feelings, I will confine myself to telling you, that after having made every necessary preparation, and divided with my much honoured parents the little property I possessed, I set sail for India, in a state of mind compared with which the horrors of annihilation would have been enviable: the chaos in my thoughts made me insensible to every object but one; and I brooded with a sort of stupid, gloomy indulgence, over the portrait of Miss ——, which hung round my neck, and was my inseparable companion, till the people who seized me as I came ashore plundered me of it, and thereby deprived me of the last refuge for comfort I had left. Oh! monsters! barbarians! had you glutted your savage fury by disse-

vering



vering my limbs, one after another, from my body, it would have been mercy, compared with depriving me of that little image of her I love ! But it is all over, and I shall soon sink into the grave, and never more be blessed with the view of those heavenly features, till we meet in that region where all tears are wiped away, and where, I trust, we shall be joined together for endless ages, in eternal, never-fading bliss !”

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## LETTER LII.

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ON the day succeeding that on which the agent of HYAT SAHIB had held the discourse with me, mentioned in my last letter but one, I was again sent for, and brought to the same person, who asked me, whether I had duly considered of the important offer made me by HYAT SAHIB, and of the consequences likely to result from a refusal ? and he apprised me at the same time, that the command of five thousand men was an honour which the first Rajahs in the Myforean dominions would grasp at with transport. I told him I was well convinced of the honour such a command would confer on any man but an Englishman, whose country being the object of HYDER's incessant hostility, would make the acceptance of it infamy—that although I knew there were but too many Englishmen apostates to their country, I hoped there were but few to be found in India willing to accept of any emoluments, however great,

great, or any temptations, however specious, to fly from the standard of their country, and rally round that of its bitterest enemy—that, for my own part, being of a name ever foremost in the ranks of loyalty and patriotism, and of a family that had hitherto detracted nothing from the honours of that name, such an act of apostacy would be peculiarly infamous in me, and I could view it in no better light than traitorous and parricidal—that, independent of all those claims, which were of themselves sufficient to deter me, I felt within myself a principle, perhaps innate, perhaps inspired by military habit, that forbade my acceding—and, finally, appealed to the good sense of HYAT SAHIB, whether a man who in such circumstances had betrayed his country, and sacrificed her interests to his own convenience, was such a person as confidence could properly be put in.

Notwithstanding these, and a thousand other remonstrances, which I cannot immediately recollect, but which the hazards of my situation suggested, he still continued to press me, and used every argument, every persuasion, that ingenuity could dictate, or hints of punishment enforce, to shake my purpose—but in vain : attachment to country and family rose paramount to all other considerations ; and I gave a peremptory, decisive refusal.

Circumstanced as I was, it was impossible for me to keep an accurate journal of the various incidents that passed, or vicissitudes of thought that occurred, during the period of my imprisonment. Indeed, I was scarcely conscious of the length of my captivity, and could not, till I was released, determine exactly how long it had continued. You must therefore content yourself to be told in general terms, that I was repeatedly urged on the subject by fair persuasives : they then had recourse to menace ; then they withheld the daily pittance allowed for my support ;

and



and at length proceeded to coercion, tying a rope round my neck, and hoisting me up to a tree. All this, however, I bore firmly: if it had any effect, it was to confirm me in my resolution, and call in policy to the aid of honour's dictates. Every man of feeling or reason must allow, that it was better to die, than live a life of subjection to tyranny so truly diabolical.

Mr. HALL and I, thus drove to the brink of extinction, yet consoled ourselves with the reflection, that those whom most we loved were not sharing our unhappy fate, and were fortunately ignorant of our sufferings; and as I enjoyed perfect good health, hope yet lived within me.

There is a spring, an elasticity, in every man's mind, of which the owner is rarely, very rarely conscious, because fortunately the occasions seldom occur in which it can be brought to the proof; for, as lassitude is the necessary forerunner of refreshment, so is extreme dejection to the most vigorous exercise of our fortitude. So I found it: as the horrors of my situation thickened round me, I felt my spirits increase; my resolution became more firm, my hopes more sanguine—I even began to look forward, and form projects for the future: whole hours amusement, every day and every night, arose from the contemplation of my beloved boy; I in imagination traced his growth, directed his rising sentiments, formed plans for his future success and prosperity, and indulged by anticipation in all the enjoyment which I now trust I shall yet have in his ripened manhood.

Thus we continued for many months, during which no alteration whatsoever took place in our treatment or situation. We heard a thousand contradictory reports of victories gained over the English, and again of some successes on their part: they,

however,

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however, desisted to press me into their service. The only relief from our sufferings lay in the resources of our own minds, and in our mutual endeavours to please and console one another: the circumstances of aggravation were the necessity of daily bearing witness to the most barbarous punishments inflicted upon wretched individuals under the semblance of justice, and the occasional deprivation of our food, either by the fraud of the sepoy who attended us, or the caprice or cruelty of their superiors. It is but justice, however, to say, that they were not all alike: some overflowed with mercy, charity, and the milk of human kindness; while others, again, were almost as bad men as the sovereigns they served. We were not allowed the use of pen, ink, or paper; and very seldom could afford ourselves the luxury of shaving, or clean linen: nor were we at all sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, till at length a little room was built for us of mud, which being small and damp, rendered our situation worse than it was before.

The prisoner whom I have already mentioned, as having, in the time of the former sovereign, held the first office in Bidanore, still continued opposite to me; and he and I at length began to understand each other, and found means, by looks, signs and gestures, to exchange thoughts, and hold an intercourse of sentiments together. From the circumstance of his being a native, and better skilled in the language than me, he had much better intelligence than I could possibly have, and he was always eager to convey to me any circumstance or news that he thought might be agreeable: some messages also passed between us, by means of the sepoy who had alternately been his guard and mine—for our guards were changed every week.



Projects and hopes of a new kind now began to intrude themselves on my thoughts; and I conceived a design, which I flattered myself was not entirely impracticable, to effect an escape, and even a revolt in the place. A variety of circumstances concurred to persuade me, that the tyranny of HYDER, and his servant HYAT SAHIB, was abhorred, though none dared to give vent to their sentiments. I thought I could observe, that the native prisoner opposite to me was privately beloved, and might, from the recollection of his former dignities, have considerable influence in the place. Several Arcot sepoys and their officers (some of them belonging to my own regiment) were also prisoners at large; and withal I recollected, that difficulties apparently more stupendous had been overcome by Englishmen—having often heard it asserted, that there was not a prison in the known world out of which a British subject had not made his escape.

Fraught with those conceptions, I attempted to sound the officers of the Arcot Sepoys, whether it were not possible for us to effect our escape? So ardent is the flame of liberty in all men's breasts, so great is the detestation of human nature to slavery, that I perceived a manifest willingness in the people about us to join me in an attempt to procure our liberty, or bring about a revolt in the garrison. My heart beat high with the hope; and I began to flatter myself, that the day was not far removed when we should not only bid defiance to our tyrants, but even make them repent the day on which we were cast ashore on their coast.

Having thus distantly sounded all who I thought were likely to concur, upon the practicability of the attempt, and found them, as I conceived, disposed to take share in it, it yet remained to consider of the *quomodo*—and, after having formed the general

outlines of a plan, to lick it into shape. The first of these was a critical consideration: the second required address and management, and was likely to be impeded by the vigilance of the people about, who would not fail to remark, and take the alarm, from any unusual intercourse or discourse between us; and without a mutual communication of thoughts, and full deliberation by all parties concerned, as well as knowledge of the fort and its different gates, nothing could, with any prospect of success, be determined—nothing, without the most imminent hazard, be attempted. I therefore held various councils with my own mind, and with Mr. HALL, on the subject—most of which were abortive, without at all discouraging us.

At last I began to think of founding the Bidanore prisoner, *ci-devant* governor of the place; and determined, if possible, to bring him into our consultations, as I had before hoped to make him a party in the execution of the project: but while I was settling all this much to my own satisfaction, an event occurred which extinguished all my hopes in that way—of which you shall have an account in my next letter.





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LETTER LIII.

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WHETHER the plan which I mentioned in my last was discovered or not, or from what other motive it arose, I have not to this day been able to decide; but so it was, that while my sanguine mind was overflowing with the hope of carrying my project for an escape into effect, Mr. HALL and I were one day unexpectedly loaded with irons, and fastened together, leg by leg, by one bolt. This, as nearly as I can compute, was four or five months before my release. Of all the circumstances of my life, it has made the strongest impression upon my mind: it unexpectedly and suddenly broke down the most pleasing fabric my imagination had ever built. The surprise occasioned by the appearance of the irons, and the precautionary manner in which it was undertaken, was indeed great: still more was I surprised to observe, that the person who was employed to see this put in execution, manifested unusual emotions, seemed much affected, and even shed tears as he looked on: and while the suddenness and cautionary mode of doing it convinced me that some resistance on our part was apprehended, the sorrow which the officer who superintended it disclosed, portended in my mind a fatal, or at least a very serious issue.

Unfortunately, poor Mr. HALL had for some time been afflicted with a return of his dreadful disorder.

order, the dysentery; and our being shackled together increased an unconquerable mortification of feelings which he had before undergone, from a delicacy of nature that would have done honour to the most modest virgin, be her sensibility ever so exquisite, or her delicacy ever so extreme—And here, my dear FREDERICK! I cannot let slip this opportunity of remarking to you, that the man, as well as the woman, who would render himself truly amiable in the eyes of his fellow-creatures, should cultivate delicacy and modesty, as the most captivating of all the moral virtues: from them, heroism derives additional lustre—wit, ten-fold force—religion and morality, the charms of persuasion—and every personal action of the man, irresistible dignity and winning grace. From this unlucky event, I received a temporary depression; and the rapidly increasing illness of poor HALL rendered my situation more than ever calamitous; when, again, my spirits, eagerly prone to grasp at every thing that gave a momentary hope of support, were a little recruited by confused rumours of the English army having made a descent on the Malabar coast: and so powerful is the influence of mind on the animal system, that Mr. HALL enjoyed from the report a momentary alleviation of his malady; but, having no medical assistance, nor even sufficient sustenance to further the favourable operations of nature, he relapsed again; the disease fell upon him with redoubled fury: a very scanty portion of boiled rice, with a more scanty morsel of stinking salt fish or putrid flesh, was a very inadequate support for me, who, though emaciated, was in health—and very improper medicine for a person labouring under a malady such as Mr. HALL's, which required comfort, good medical skill, and delicate nutritious food. The tea which HYAT SAHIB had given me was expended;



and we were not allowed to be shaved from the hour we were put in irons, an indulgence of that kind being forbidden by the barbarous rules of the prison: and, to refine upon our tortures, sleep, “the balm of hurt minds,” was not allowed us uninterrupted; for, in conformity to another regulation, we were disturbed every half hour by a noise something resembling a watchman’s rattle, and a fellow who, striking every part of our irons with a kind of hammer, and examining them lest they should be cut, broke in upon that kind restorative, and awoke our souls to fresh horrors.

As it must be much more naturally matter of astonishment that any bodily strength could support itself under such complicated calamities, than that infirmity should sink beneath them, you will be rather grieved than surprised to hear that poor Mr. HALL was now approaching to his end with hourly accelerated steps. Every application that I made in his favour was refused, or rather treated with cruel neglect and contemptuous silence; and I foresaw, with inexpressible anguish and indignation, that the barbarians would not abate him in his last minutes one jot of misery, and that my most amiable friend was fated to expire under every attendant horror that mere sublunary circumstances could create. But that pity which the mighty, the powerful and enlightened denied, natural benevolence operating upon an uninformed mind, and scanty means, afforded us. HYAT SAHIB, the powerful, the wealthy, the governor of a great and opulent province, refused to an expiring fellow-creature a little cheap relief—while a poor sepoy taxed his little means to supply it: one who guarded us, of his own accord, at hazard of imminent punishment, purchased us a lamp and a little oil, which we burned for the last few nights.

Philosophers and divines have declaimed upon the advantages of a well-spent life, as felt in *articulo mortis*; and their efforts have had, I hope, some effect upon the lives of many. To witness one example such as Mr. HALL held forth, would be worth volumes of precepts on this subject. The unfeigned resignation with which he met his dissolution, and the majestic fortitude with which he looked in the face the various circumstances of horror that surrounded him, rendered him the most dignified object I ever beheld or conceived, and the most glorious instance of conscious virtue triumphing over the terrors of death, and the cunning barbarity of mankind. Were the progress of virtue attended with pain, and the practice of vice with pleasure, the adoption of the former would be amply repaid by its soothing in the dreadful moment, even if it were to accompany us no further. About a quarter of an hour before he died, Mr. HALL broached a most tender subject of conversation, which he followed up with a series of observations, so truly refined, so exquisitely turned, so delicate and so pathetic, that it seemed almost the language of inspiration, as if, in proportion to the decay of the body, intellect increased, and the dying man had become all mind. Such a conversation I never remembered to have heard, or heard of. Its effects upon me were wonderful; for, though the combination of melancholy circumstances attending my now critical situation had almost raised my mind to frenzy, the salutary influence of his words and example controuled the excesses of my sensations; and I met the afflicting moment of his departure with a degree of tranquillity, which, though not to be compared to his, has on reflection appeared to me astonishing. This conversation continued to the very instant of his death; during which time he held my hand



clasped in his, frequently enforcing his kind expressions to me with a squeeze—while my sorrow, taking its most easy channel, bedewed my face with tears. As he proceeded, my voice was choaked with my feelings; and I attempted once or twice in vain to speak. His hand grew cold: he said his lower limbs were all lifeless, and that he felt death coming over him with slow creeping steps—He again moralized, thanking God with pathetic fervour for his great mercy in leaving him his intellects unclouded, and the organ of communication (the tongue) unenfeebled, that, to the last, he might solace his friend and fellow-sufferer—“ Ah! CAMPBELL!” continued he, “ to what a series of miseries am I now leaving you! death in such circumstances is a blessing—I view mine as such; and should think it more so, if it contributed, by awakening those people to a sense of their cruelty, to soften their rigour to you: but cruelty like their’s is systematic, and stoops not to the controul of the feelings. Could I hope that you would yet escape from their clutches, and that you would once more press your family to your bosom, the thought would brighten still the moment of our separation: and, oh! my friend! could I still further hope that you would one day see my most beloved and honoured parents, and tell them of my death without wringing their hearts with its horrid circumstances, offer them my last duties, and tell how I revered them—If, too, you could see my——, and tell her how far, far more dear than——!” Here he turned his eyes toward the lamp, then faintly on me—made a convulsive effort to squeeze my hand—cried out, “ CAMPBELL! oh, CAMPBELL! the lamp is going out!” and expired without a groan.

The recital of this afflicting event has called up to my fancy so lively a picture of the scene as it passed

with all its horrors—horrors which outstrip all efforts of description, and baffle all power of language—that my feelings are in part renewed, and I find myself incapable of proceeding further at present.

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## LETTER LIV.

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FOR some time I was lost in grief for the death of Mr. HALL. Though I had long expected it, and might consequently be supposed to have wasted great part of my sorrow in anticipation; yet, having only considered and felt the point before his death merely as it respected him and his misfortunes, a great portion of the calamity yet remained unconceived: and, now that he was dead, I began for the first time to consider and feel the subject as it concerned myself. Reflection told me, that he was happily relieved from woe, and in a state of bliss—

- “ After life’s fitful fever, he sleeps well:  
 “ ————— Nor steel nor poison,  
 “ Malice domestic, foreign levy—nothing  
 “ Can touch him further!”

But I still remained a prey to perhaps new barbarities, without hope of relief from the old. No partner to share, no social converse to alleviate, no friend to console me under my afflictions, I looked at the body of my friend with envy, and lamented that death had not afforded me, too, a shelter from the cruelties which fate seemed determined to heap upon me.



It is impossible for me to express to you the agonies of mind I underwent during the rest of the night. In the morning a report was made to the commandant, of the death of Mr. HALL; and in about an hour after, he passed me by, but kept his face purposely turned away from me to the other side. I patiently waited for the removal of the dead body till the evening, when I desired the Sepoys who guarded me to apply for its being removed. They returned, and told me that they could get no answer respecting it. Night came on, but there was no appearance of an intention to unfetter me from the corpse. The commandant was sitting in his court, administering, in the manner I have before described, *justice!* I called out to him myself with all my might, but could get no answer from him. Nothing could equal my rage and consternation; for, exclusive of the painful idea of being shackled to the dead body of a friend I loved, another circumstance contributed to make it a serious subject of horror. In those climates the weather is so intensely hot, that putrefaction almost instantly succeeds death, and meat that is killed in the morning, and kept in the shade, will be unfit for dressing at night. In a subject, then, on which putrefaction had made advances even before death, and which remained exposed to the open air, the process must have been much more rapid. So far, however, from compassionating my situation, or indulging me by a removal of the body, their barbarity suggested to them to make it an instrument of punishment; and they pertinaciously adhered to the most mortifying silence and disregard of my complaints. For several days and nights it remained attached to me by the irons. I grew almost distracted—wished for the means of putting an end to my miseries by death, and could not move without witnessing some new stage of putrescence it attained, or breathe without

inhaling the putred effluvia that arose from it—while myriads of flies and loathsome insects rested on it, the former of which every now and then visited me, crawling over my face and hands, and lighting in hundreds on my victuals. I never look back at this crisis without confusion, horror, and even astonishment; and, were it not connected with a chain of events preceding and subsequent to it, too well known by respectable people to be doubted, and too much interwoven with a part of the history of the last war in India to admit of a doubt, I should not only be afraid to tell, but absolutely doubt myself whether the whole was not the illusion of a dream, rather than credit the possibility of my enduring such unheard of hardships without loss of life or deprivation of senses.

At last, when the body had reached that shocking loathsome state of putrefaction which threatened that further delay would render removal abominable, if not impossible, the monsters agreed to take it away from me—and I was so far relieved: but the mortification and injury I underwent from it, joined to the agitation of the preceding week, made a visible inroad on my health. I totally lost my spirits; my appetite entirely forsook me: my long-nourished hopes fled; and I looked forward to death as the only desirable event that was within the verge of likelihood or possibility.

One day, my opposite friend (the native prisoner) gave me a look of the most interesting and encouraging kind; and I perceived a more than usual bustle in the citadel, while the sepoys informed me that they were ordered on immediate service, and that some events of great importance had taken place. From this feeble gleam, my mind, naturally active, though depressed by circumstances of unusual weight, again took fire, and hope brightened with a kind of gloomy light the prospect before me: I revolved a  
thousand



thousand things, and drew from them a thousand surmises; but all as yet was only conjecture with me. In a day or two, the bustle increased to a high pitch, accompanied with marks of consternation: the whole of the troops in the citadel were ordered to march; and the commandant, and a man with a hammar and instruments, came to take off my irons.

While they were at work taking off my irons, I perceived they were taking off those of the native prisoner opposite to me also. He went away under a guard: we looked at each other complacently, nodded and smiled, as who should say, "we hope to see one another in happier times not far distant." But, alas! vain are human hopes, and short and dark is the extent of our utmost foresight! This unhappy man, without committing any sort of offence to merit it, but in conformity to the damnable, barbarous policy of those countries, was, by the Jemadar's orders, taken forth, and his throat cut! This the Jemadar himself afterwards acknowledged to me—and, what was still more abominable if possible, undertook to justify the proceeding upon the principles of reason, sound sense, and precedent of Asiatic policy.

In order to elucidate the whole of this business, it is necessary for me to recur to events which happened antecedent to this time, but of which, by reason of my situation, I was then entirely ignorant; and as they involve, not only the grounds of my subsequent escape and proceedings, but a considerable portion of historical fact, and some of the material interests of the East India Company, I will be the more particularly careful in relating them, and desire from you a proportionate share of attention—But their importance entitle them to a separate letter: therefore conclude with assuring you, &c. &c.



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LETTER LV.

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HYDER ALLI KHAWN, late Nabob of Myfore, and father to the present TIPPoo SAHIB SULTAIN, was as extraordinary a man, and perhaps possessed as great natural talents, as any recorded in the page of history. Born and bred up in the lowest ranks of an unenlightened and ignorant people, and to the last day of his life perfectly illiterate, he not only emerged from his native obscurity by the vigor of his mind and body, but became an object of terror and admiration to surrounding potentates. Early initiated in the habits and inured to the toils of a military life, he rose, by the gradual steps of promotion, to a rank which afforded an opportunity of displaying his capacity and prowess: he soon obtained the command of that army in which he had once served as a common soldier, and immediately demonstrated that the sublimity of his mind was formed to keep pace with his extraordinary elevation.

The Marhattas, the most formidable people in Hither India, bordered on the Myforean dominions, and kept their neighbours, by frequent hostilities, in a continual state of awe—making incursions on their territories, and taking possession, by force of arms, of large portions of their country: but no sooner had HYDER got the command of the armies of his country, than he drove back the Marhattas from the Myforean dominions, which he extended by considerable



derable acquisitions from the Marhatta frontiers; and followed up his conquests with such successful ardour, that he compelled that warlike nation to respect his countrymen as their equals, if not superiors, in military achievement. Thus, while he ingratiated himself with his sovereign and fellow-citizens by his wisdom, he acquired the admiration of the soldiery by his personal address and valour; and at the same time, by the severity of his discipline, and the occasional austerity of his deportment, maintained an awe over them, which strengthened his authority without diminishing their affection.

HYDER was therefore now arrived at that point of elevation, beyond which no exertion of mental capacity, if governed by virtue or integrity, could raise him—So far he owed all to genius: but his towering ambition looked higher; and, unrestrained by any principle of religion or morality, he determined to accomplish, at any rate, that which he knew nothing but crime could accomplish. With wicked deliberation he looked forward into the womb of time, and with unparalleled policy arranged the whole system upon which he was to act, when that order of things his penetrating and intuitive genius enabled him to see would naturally arise from each other, should afford him a proper opportunity. Although he was utterly ignorant of books, and of course could derive little benefit from the examples of the great and ambitious men recorded in history, yet, drawing upon the infinite resources of his own mind for information, he adopted the very same means of furthering his views; and foreseeing, that, with an immense army devoted to his interests, few things would be unattainable, he applied himself diligently to model and form that of the KING of MYSORE to the greatest perfection in discipline, and to render it attached to his person, and subservient to his views, by a

skilful mixture of severity and relaxation, toil and reward, danger and applause, which none but a master-hand like his was capable of exactly compounding.

The death of his sovereign the KING of MYSORE at length afforded him the opportunity to which he had so long, and with so prophetic an eye, looked forward—and gave him ample room for self gratulation on the score of his sagacity and prudence.

The heir in succession to the throne being then an infant, the politic HYDER, setting aside all claims of the kindred of the young prince, took upon himself the guardianship—under the title of Regent assumed the supreme authority—and, though too well aware of the inviolable attachment of the people to their lawful monarch to put him directly to death, usurped the throne, and consigned him to imprisonment in Seringapatam, the capital of the Mysorean dominions.

Having thus, by his talents, acquired the possession of the throne, he gave a large range to the sublimity of his views, and soon displayed the exhaustless resources of his mind in the new office of Governor and Legislator—forming such vast well-ordered military establishments, and such judicious and salutary civil institutions, as made him blaze forth at once the terror of his neighbours, and rendered him, in the sequel, the most powerful and formidable potentate in the Hither Peninsula. In carrying on those, his deficiency in letters was supplied by his vigilance and sagacity, sharpened by suspicion: three secretaries executed all his orders in separate apartments: and if, on comparison, they were found to differ, he who committed the error received sentence of death. His natural cruelty made him take the execution of their sentence upon himself not unfrequently: to slice off a head with his own hand, or see it done by others, was a luxurious recreation to the sanguinary HYDER.

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The natural sagacity of this great man suggested, that in order to accomplish the extensive objects which his active and ambitious temper held up to his imagination, the introduction of the most perfect military discipline was above all other things necessary; and his judgment informed him that the European was the best. He therefore held out the most tempting allurements to military adventurers, and particularly to those, whether black or white, who had been trained in the service of the English East India company: he sent emissaries, for the purpose, to all parts of India, with instructions to offer great rewards; and carried this design so far, that whenever accident or war threw persons of that description into his hands, he never failed to detain them, and, if they refused to enter into his service, treat them with the most unpardonable rigour and barbarity; and by these means brought his army to a state of perfection till then unknown to a black power. He did not stop there, but determined to establish a navy—by large offers allured many ship-carpenters and artizans from Bombay—made no inconsiderable progress in constructing dock-yards, and had actually equipped some ships of the line, besides frigates, fitted to encounter European seas. Indeed, he seemed to have carried his views of conquest even to the Polar regions; for it is a fact, that he directed his people, in constructing those vessels, to fit them for encountering seas of ice, or, as he called it, the thick water.

To a man of such ardent ambition and deep penetration, the vast power which the English East India company had acquired, and were daily acquiring, in the East, could not fail to be an object of jealousy. He conceived a deadly and implacable animosity to the British Nation, which influenced his whole succeeding life, ended only with his death,

and was then transmitted to his son TIPPOO SAHIB, with the exaction of a solemn oath, ever to retain those sentiments.

A coincidence of circumstances, which has seldom occurred in the fortunes of men, tended, at a lucky crisis, to further the bold projects of HYDER; and neither fortune, though extremely propitious to him, nor his own unbounded talents and energetic spirit, favoured the execution of them, more than the bungling politics, the ludicrous ambition, and the consequent unjustifiable proceedings, of one of our Presidencies in India—I mean Bombay. Fortunately, the wisdom and moderation of our East India councils at this day, vindicate the wounded character of the British nation, and justify me in the remarks I make.

An ambitious and profligate chief of the Marhatta Tribes—his name, RAGANAUT ROW—had been deposed by the wise men of his country, for having murdered his nephew, in order to usurp the throne of Setterah. He fled to Bombay, and, by specious promises and other means, prevailed on that Presidency to afford him an asylum, and finally to take up arms in his defence against the united Marhatta States, who at the very time were able to raise an army of three hundred thousand fighting men. Hostilities were first commenced by the English; and by them peace was first proposed. The treaty of Poonah was made, by which it was provided that RAGANAUT ROW would quit Bombay; and by the English the provisions of that treaty were broken—for, in direct violation of it, RAGANAUT was kept at Bombay. This breach of the treaty led to another; for this crafty and unprincipled chief made use of it with such address as to persuade that Presidency to attack the Marhattas again:—by magnifying the power of his party among his countrymen, he



he prevailed upon them once more to assert his rights; and the Presidency of Calcutta, I am afraid, were induced to join that of Bombay in the plan.

It happened unfortunately, that at this time the Presidency of Bombay was composed of persons the most unqualified, probably, that could be found in any community for offices of such importance. One, particularly, was allowed, by the almost unanimous consent of those who knew his private or public character, to be ignorant, not only of the first principles of government, but of the ordinary knowledge requisite for a gentleman; and for situations of moment he was peculiarly disqualified by a fondness for minutiae, to which he paid more attention than to matters of greater consequence. A temper and intellect of this kind were rendered still more incapable of the enlarged views any Representative of a great Nation in a distant colony should possess, by a mercantile education and habits, which narrowed even his circumscribed mind, and left him not a sentiment, not an idea, that was not merely commercial. The administration of such men was exactly what might have been expected; and, instead of asserting the dignity of Great Britain, or promoting the advantage of their employers—narrow policy, selfish views, and efforts arising from mistaken notions of conquest, made the whole tissue of their conduct in India.

Blinded by the plausible insinuations of RAGNAUT, and stimulated, as I have already observed, by a lust for conquest, which would have been unjustifiable even in an hereditary despot, but which were peculiarly vicious and ridiculous in a body of merchants who were themselves subjects, the East India company's servants again determined to support, by force of arms, that most atrocious murderer: and with the contemptibly inadequate force

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of four thousand men, encumbered with an unwieldy train of baggage and servants for the accommodation of finikin voluptuous officers, and led by two doughty compring-house champions (CARNAC and MOS-TYN), with colonel EGERTON as *military assistant* rather than commander, they set out, to encounter the whole torrent of the Marhatta force, and conduct ROGANAUT to Poonah.

Had ROGANAUT advanced at the head of his own partizans only, the chiefs of the Marhatta Nation might possibly have taken different sides of the question, and left between them a breach for his arms or intrigues to make an entrance fatal to the general cause of the country: but the assaults of a foreign army—an army of interested peculating strangers, as the company's troops then were—an army of avowed natural enemies, professing a different religion, entertaining different political principles, and formed by nature of a different complexion—roused and united them in one common cause, and compressed discordant interests, which had been for time immemorial at irreconcilable variance, into one compact body of resistance, which, as it became more firm from the strokes of hostility, could not, in the nature of things, be subdued; in the same manner as the unjustifiable confederacy of kings against France lately united all the conflicting parties of that country—converted twenty-seven millions of people, male and female, into one compact armed force—rendered them not only invincible at home, but terrible abroad—and finally, has enabled them to bestride, Colusus like, the universe.



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 LETTER LVI.
 

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THE approach of the British troops with ROGANAUT caused great alarm at Poonah; and the ministers there sent to offer terms, which were contemptuously rejected. They then determined to save, by prowess, those rights which they could not preserve by justice or negotiation—and took the field with such great force, that their menacing enemies found it expedient to consider of a retreat. The *faithful* ROGANAUT, finding his plans baffled, sent privately to SCINDIAH, the Marhatta chief, proposing to him to attack the English, and promising in that case to join him with his part of the army: his perfidy, however, being discovered, the English commanders began to retreat, carrying him along with them. They were, however, surrounded, and reduced to make the most abject concessions—offering a *carte-blanche* to SCINDIAH as the price of a retreat: but that august chief nobly disdained to take advantage of their situation, and contented himself with terms which justice should have exacted from them, even if necessity had not compelled their acceptance. The restoration of Salfette, and of the other conquests made by the company's troops during the preceding hostilities, and the delivery of ROGANAUT's person into the hands of the Marhattas, were among the provisions. ROGANAUT was delivered up: two hostages were taken for the remaining

remaining part of the treaty ; and the harrassed remains of the English army were permitted to return to Bombay.

ROGANAUT having found means to escape, reached Surat ; and the company's chiefs refused to comply with the provisions of the treaty : notwithstanding which, the noble Marhatta dismissed the hostages, and prepared for a more manly revenge than that which could be wreaked on two defenceless individuals. General GODDART, who had been sent with an army from Bengal, was commissioned to negotiate for a pacification : but SCINDIAH making the delivery of ROGANAUT into his hands an indispensable preliminary, the negotiation was broken off, and both parties determined to refer the controversy to the decision of the sword.

Every thing seemed to conspire to chastise the rashness and folly of our Indian councils. The difficulties in which our American contest had involved the nation, were reported with exaggeration in India, and gave additional firmness to our enemies in that quarter. The restless and intriguing spirit of the court of Versailles found its way with Monsieur ST. LUBIN to the shores of Indostan, and so powerfully worked upon the mind of HYDER, that he entered into a treaty with France against England, and brought the strength of both into the most formidable combination that ever was made in that country, to root out the power of Great Britain from the East.

Thus, by the depraved politics of the councils of a petty settlement, were the important interests of Great Britain in India, and the lives and properties of all its servants in that quarter, at once exposed to the fury of three formidable hostile powers—the Marhattas, HYDER and the French.



I will not entangle my narrative with a detail of the various military operations which arose from this confederacy: they were in general disastrous to the English, whose power there was preserved from utter annihilation by the energetic councils of Mr. HASTINGS, the unexampled courage of our troops, and the unparalleled abilities and gallantry of the veteran Sir EYRE COOTE. That part which applies to my present narrative, is the only part I think it necessary to detail; but I wish you to inform yourself of all of them fully, by an attentive perusal of the different histories of that war.

In order to relieve the Carnatic, which was suffering under the ravages of a formidable victorious army, who had not only cut off a great part of our forces on that coast, but affronted our army even at the walls of Fort St. George, descents upon the coasts of Malabar were planned, in order to make a diversion: and General MATHEWS, in January 1783, landed with a small army under his command, at a place called Rajamondroog—took Onore, and several forts: and being joined by other troops, which, under the command of Colonel HUMBERTSON, had done considerable service to the southward, and were now commanded by Colonel MACLEOD, marched from Cundapore, with an army consisting of twelve hundred Europeans and eight battalions of Sepoys, towards Hussaingurry Ghaut, a pass that leads over these immense mountains which divide the peninsula, running north and south from Persia to Cape Comorin. After surmounting obstacles that would have discouraged a less enterprising commander, and for which I refer you to his own letter, inclosed herewith,\* he mounted the Ghaut, carrying every thing before him with the fixed bayonet; and reached

\* See Appendix.

within a short march of Hydernagur, the place where I was confined. Those operations were undoubtedly much facilitated by the death of HYDER ALLI, which happened while I was in prison, and which drew the attention of TIPPoo SAHIB to affairs of more immediate importance than the defence of the Malabar forts.

I have thus digressed from the straight path of my narrative, in order to explain to you the occasion of the extraordinary revolution that so suddenly took place in the fort, which I stated to you in my last letter but one—You will therefore look back to the conclusion of that letter, from whence I again take up my narrative.

I was utterly at a loss to conjecture what this so sudden resolution to release me and my opposite fellow-prisoner meant. I endeavoured to get some explanation of it from the persons about me; but all I could at the time collect was, that the Jemadar had directed me to be taken out of irons, and ordered me to appear before him. I walked out of the citadel with two or three men who had got charge of me: it was a delightful afternoon; and my sensations on once more visiting the open air—at again viewing the vast expanse of the firmament above, and the profusion of beauties with which nature embellished the earth beneath—were too blissful, too sublime for description. My heart beat with involuntary transports of gratitude to that Being from which all sprung; and I felt that man is, in his nature, even without the intervention of his reason, a being of devotion. For an hour of such delight as I then experienced, a year of imprisonment was, I thought, hardly too dear a price. Those exquisite sensations insensibly led my heart to the most flattering presages: the animal spirit appeared to have, in correspondence with the



body, shaken off a load of chains; and as I walked along, I seemed to tread on air.

As we proceeded forward, we found, at some distance from the fort, an open dooly, into which the guards forcibly crammed me; and I was carried off, still attended by the same men. As we went along, they gave me to understand that HYAT SAHIB, the Jemadar, was at a place ten or a dozen miles distant from Bidanore. I thought it within myself a most extraordinary circumstance, and was at a loss to conjecture for what purpose he required my presence there. Perhaps, thought I, it is to deliver me personally into the hands of TIPPoo—perhaps to send me to Seringapatam. Suspence whetted my curiosity; and impatience to know my fate, set my mind afloat upon a wide sea of conjecture. Still, however, my senses acknowledged a degree of pleasure indescribable—I inhaled the fresh air with greediness, and, as I snuffed it in, said to myself, “Well, well—at the worst, this will enliven my spirits, and lay up a new stock of health and vigour, to enable me to endure with manhood whatever other sufferings the barbarians, into whose hands I have fallen, may have in store for me.”

When we had got about a mile from the fort, we met a person attended by three others, all on horseback. He was a man of considerable rank in that country, and I recollected to have seen him at the Jemadar’s Durbar, where he had manifested a favourable disposition towards me, looking always graciously, and nodding to me, which, considering my circumstances and his, was not a little extraordinary. The moment he recognized me, he leaped from his horse, apparently in great agitation: then turning to the guards, ordered them to leave me immediately—saying at the same time that he would be answerable for the consequences. They seemed at

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first to hesitate whether they would obey him or not; but on his shaking at them his sword, which was all along drawn in his hand, and smeared with blood, and repeating his orders a second time in a firm and decisive tone of voice and manner, they all ran off.

As soon as we were alone, he revealed to me, that he had all along known who I was—had most heartily pitied my sufferings, and privately entertained the most anxious wishes to serve me, but could not venture to interfere—the least jealousy, when once awakened, being there always followed up by summary vengeance. He then mentioned his name, informing me that he was the son of a Nabob near Vellore, whose dominions had been wrested from him by force, and united to the Carnatic; that his family had received great favours from my father, in return for which he felt himself bound to do me every service in his power; but that, having been, after the misfortunes which befel his family, taken into the service of HYDER, and holding then a place of consequence under him, he was disqualified from demonstrating his gratitude and esteem in the way he wished: he added, he had just come from the summit of the Ghauts, where he left the English army posted, after their having beat the Circar troops, and carried all the strong works which had been erected for the defence of the passes, and were deemed from their situation impregnable; that the Jemadar, HYAT SAHIB, had gone there to encourage the troops, and animate them to one grand effort of resistance, and would remain there till the succeeding day—Here he stopped, and seemed much agitated; but, recovering himself soon, said, in a solemn and alarming manner, “This day I heard HYAT SAHIB give orders to bring you before him, in order that he might satiate his revenge by your death! How happy am I in having an opportunity to rescue you! I will



will carry you back with me, therefore, to Bidanore, and place you in a state of security with my family."

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## LETTER LVII.

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SUCH unprecedented generosity affected me sensibly. To run such a hazard as he must have incurred, merely from a principle of gratitude for services so remote in both time and person, was more than we could hope to find even among Englishmen, who boast of their superior justice and generosity—but in a native of Indostan, where the tide of human feeling runs rather low, was astonishing. As well as my limited knowledge of the language of the country enabled me, I endeavoured to make him a suitable acknowledgment: in such a cause, dullness must have become eloquent; and I lamented that my deficiency in the language prevented my giving vent to the extreme fullness of my heart. He seemed, however, to be satisfied with my meaning; and I was just on the point of returning with him to Hydernagur, when we were suddenly startled by the Jemadar's music, which was soon afterwards succeeded by the appearance of his guards advancing towards us at some distance. He seemed confounded and alarmed—lamented, in warm terms, his incapacity to serve me—and, pointed to a path which wound through a wood that lay on either side of the road, directed me to strike into it immediately, saying, that

that by following that route, I should certainly fall in with the British army. He then rode away, and I followed his advice, and proceeded for some time through the wood without interruption; for, though I did not implicitly believe the assertion that HYAT SAHIB meant to have cut me off, I deemed it prudent to avail myself of the opportunity which offered to effect my escape, apprehending a worse fate than death, namely, being sent prisoner to Seringapatam.

Finding myself fairly extricated, I began to examine my situation, and to reflect on the different conversations which had passed between HYAT SAHIB and me, and on his conduct previous to my being put in irons. I recollected the information I had from time to time received, touching the Jemadar's disposition, HYDER's death, TIPPOO SAHIB's character and avowed hatred of HYAT, and the nature of the inhabitants. I moreover took into consideration, that my strength was impaired, and my constitution undermined; and that my prospects in India, in point of fame or emolument, could only be promoted by some extraordinary exertion, or some hazardous enterprize. The result of the whole was a determination on my part to return back to the fort, and venture an attempt to persuade the Jemadar to offer proposals for an accommodation to General MATHEWS, and to make me the instrument of his negociation.

In pursuance of this determination, I returned; and about six o'clock in the evening re-entered the fort, and proceeded to the palace of the Jemadar, where, desiring an audience, I was admitted. At the very first sight of him, I could perceive in his appearance all the mortification of falling power. He received me with a gloomy countenance, in which there was more of thoughtful sadness than of vindictive fury. After a minute's silence, however,

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he said to me, "Well, Sir! you have heard, I suppose, that the English army are in possession of the Ghauts, and doubtless know that the customs of this country authorise my proceeding against you with the utmost rigor." Here he paused for a few moments—then proceeded thus: "Nevertheless, in consideration of your family—in consideration of the regard I have for a long time conceived for you, from observing your conduct, and strict adherence to truth in answering all my questions, and still more on account of the sufferings which you have sustained with fortitude, I will allow you to escape: haste you, then, away—fly from this fort directly—begone!" Then waving his hand as a signal for me to depart, averted his face from me, and looked another way.

I thought that this was a very favourable opportunity for my intended purpose, and entreated him to hear me while I said a few words of perhaps more moment to him than to myself. He again turned towards me; and, nodding ascent, while his eye bespoke impatient curiosity, I proceeded—And, first, I expressed, in the strongest terms I was able, the high sense I entertained of the favourable reception I met with when I first came to the fort; assuring him, that I should never forget the kindness he shewed me on that occasion, and that in my conscience I imputed all the sufferings I had undergone wholly to orders which he had been obliged to execute, and not to any want of humanity in himself. Here I perceived the clouds which had overspread his countenance begin gradually to disperse, and with the greater confidence proceeded to say, that if he would condescend to give me a patient hearing, and not take my boldness amiss, I would venture to intrude upon him with my advice. At this he stared at me with a look of surprise—paused—then said, that he authorised me to speak whatever I pleased—continuing,

ning, in a tone of gentle melancholy, "But of what use can your advice be to me now?"

Having thus obtained his permission, I began by complimenting him on his great talents and temper in governing—on his fidelity, zeal and attachment to HYDER—and on the mild and benificent use which he was acknowledged to have made of the unbounded power vested in him by that great Prince, which was the more extraordinary, considering how many examples he had to justify him in a contrary practice. I reminded him, however, that circumstances were at present widely different from what they were—that he had now got a very different sovereign to serve—that he had no longer the tender father (for so HYDER might have been considered to him), but TIPPOO SULTAN, now the master, once the rival, whose measures he had always opposed, against whom he had once laid a most serious charge, and who, considering the firmness of his nature, could not be reasonably supposed to have forgiven him; and I hinted, that whatever external appearance of regard TIPPOO might from the political necessity of the moment assume, his temper, and the spirit of Asiatic policy, were too well known to have a doubt remaining, that so far from continuing him (HYAT) in the same power and authority which he enjoyed during the life of his father HYDER, he would, on the contrary, proceed against him with rigor and cruelty.

Here I perceived the Jemadar involuntary nodding his head in a manner which, though not intended for my observation, denoted internal assent; and was convinced that I had exactly fallen in with the current of his own thoughts. No wonder, indeed, they should be his sentiments; for they had long been the sentiments of all persons who had known the circumstances of the Nabob's family.



Having, therefore, gone as far on that point as I conceived to be necessary to awaken the mind of HYAT to the precariousness, or rather danger of his situation with TIPPoo, I painted to him, in the strongest colours I was master of, the humanity, the fidelity, the bravery and generosity of the English, which, I said, were so universally acknowledged, that even their worst enemies bore testimony to them: and I assured him, that if, instead of making an unavailing opposition to them, he would throw himself with confidence upon their protection, and become their friend, he would not only be continued in his station, power and authority, and supported as heretofore, but be made a much greater man, with still greater security, than ever he had been before.

This was the general scope of my argument with him; but there were many more which suggested themselves at the time, though I cannot now remember them. I enforced them with all the power I had: they were supported by the acknowledged character for generosity of the English, and still more by HYAT's apprehensions of TIPPoo; and they had their effect. That very night he authorised me to go to the British General; and, though he would not commit himself by sending proposals in writing, he consented to receive them from the General, and promised to wait for my return till daylight the next morning—adding, that if I did not appear by that time, he would go off with his family and treasure to some other place, and set the town, powder-magazine and store-houses on fire, leaving a person of distinguished character to defend the citadel or inner fort, which was strong, with a deep ditch, and mounted with many pieces of cannon, and send immediate intelligence to an army of six thousand horse and ten thousand infantry, who were at that

time on their road from Seringapatam, to hasten their progress, and make them advance with all possible rapidity; and he further observed, that as Tippoos himself would come to the immediate protection of his country, and, if once come while the English army remained in the open field, would give them cause to repent their temerity, there was no time to be lost.

Accompanied by a person who had officiated as interpreter between the Jemadar and me, and whose good offices and influence with HYAT, which was very great, I had been previously lucky enough to secure, I set off at ten o'clock at night, on horseback, to the British army. My companion was in high spirits when we first set out from the fort; but as we proceeded, he expressed great apprehension of being shot in approaching the camp, and earnestly entreated me to sleep at a choultry, which lay in our way, till morning. His terror must have been great indeed, to induce him to make such a proposal, as he knew very well that we had pledged ourselves to be back before dawn next day. I rallied him upon his fears, and endeavoured to persuade him there was not the smallest danger, as I knew how to answer the outposts, when they should challenge us, in such a manner as to prevent their firing. As we advanced to the camp, however, his trepidation increased; and when we approached the sentries, I was obliged to drag him along by force. Then his fears had very nearly produced the danger he dreaded, (the almost invariable effect of cowardice); for the sentry next to us, hearing the rustling noise, let off his piece, and was retreating when I had the good fortune to make him hear me. My companion, alarmed at the noise of the musquet, fell down in a paroxysm of terror, from which it was some time before he was completely recovered. The sentry who had fired,



coming up, conducted us to a place where other sentries were posted, one of whom accompanied us to a guard, from whence we were brought to the grand guard, and by them conducted to the General.

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## LETTER LVIII.

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I WAS no less pleased than surprised to find, that the commander of this gallant and successful little army was General MATHEWS—an old friend of my father's, and a person with whom I had served in the cavalry soon after I entered the service. When I arrived he was fast asleep upon the bare ground in a choultry. His dubash, whose name was SNAKE, recollected me immediately, and was almost as much frightened at my appearance at first, as my interpreter companion was at the shot of the sentry; for it was full five months since my hair and beard were both shaved at the same time, during which period a comb had never touched my head: I had no hat—no stockings—was clad in a pair of very ragged breeches, a shirt which was so full of holes that it resembled rather a net than a web of cloth, and a waistcoat which had been made for a man twice my size—while my feet were defended from the stones only by a pair of Indian slippers. SNAKE, as soon as he was able to conquer his terror, and stop the loquacious effusions of astonishment, brought me to the General, whom I found fast asleep. We awoke him with great difficulty, and, on his discovering

me, expressed great pleasure and surprise at so unexpected a meeting; for, though he had heard of my imprisonment at Bidanore, he did not expect to have had the pleasure of my company so soon.

Having stated to the General the nature and object of my mission, and related to him what had happened in the fort, he instantly saw the great advantages that must accrue from such an arrangement—entered into a full but short discussion of the business—settled with me the plan to be pursued in either case of HYAT SAHIB's acceding to or dissenting from the terms he proposed to offer; and in less than an hour after my arrival, I was dispatched back to the fort in the General's palanquin, with a cowl from him, signifying that the Jemadar HYAT SAHIB's power and influence should not be lessened, if he should quietly surrender up the fort. Before my departure, the General expressed, in the warmest terms, his approbation of my conduct; and added that considering the importance of the fort, the extensive influence of HYAT SAHIB, and the advantages that might be derived from his experience and abilities, coupled with the enfeebled state of his army, the benefits of such a negociation scarcely admitted of calculation.

Notwithstanding the very flattering circumstances with which my present pursuit was attended, I could not help, as I returned to Hydernagur, finding some uneasy sensations, arising from the immediate nature of the business, and from my knowledge of the faithless disposition of Asiatics, and the little difficulty they find in violating any moral principle, if it happens to clash with their interest, or if a breach of it promises any advantage. I considered that it was by no means impossible, that some resolution adverse to my project might have been adopted in my absence, and that the Jemadar's policy might lead him



to make my destruction a sort of propitiation for his former offences, and to send me and the cowl together to TIPPoo, to be sacrificed to his resentment. These thoughts, I own, made a very deep impression on my mind—but were again effaced by the reflection, that a laudable measure, once begun, ought to be persevered in, and that the accomplishing a plan of such importance and incalculable public utility, might operate still further by example, and produce consequences of which it was impossible at the present to form a conception. Those, and a variety of such suggestions, entirely overcame the scruples and fears of the danger; and I once more entered the fort of Hydernagur. At this time the British troops, were by detaching a part with Colonel MACLEOD, to get round the fort, and attack it in the rear, and, by death and sickness, reduced to less than four hundred Europeans and seven hundred Sepoys, without ordnance.

When I delivered the cowl to the Jemadar, he read it, and seemed pleased, but talked of four or five days to consider of an answer, and seemed to be wavering in his mind, and labouring under the alternate impulses of opposite motives and contradictory passions. I saw that it was a crisis of more importance than any other of my life—a crisis in which delay, irresolution, or yielding to the protractive expedients of HYAT, might be fatal. To prevent, therefore, the effects of either treachery or repentance, I took advantage of the general confusion and trepidation which prevailed in the fort—collected the Arcot Sepoys, who, to the number of four hundred, were prisoners at large—posted them at the gates, powder-magazines, and other critical situations; and, having taken these and other precautions, went out to the General, who, according to the plan concerted between us, had pushed on

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with the advanced guard; and, conducting him into the fort with hardly an attendant, brought him straight to the Jemadar's presence while he yet remained in a state of indecision and terror. General MATHEWS, in his first interview with the Jemadar, did every thing to re-assure him, and confirmed with the most solemn asseverations the terms of the cowl; in consequence of which the latter acceded to the propositions contained in it, and the British colours for the first time waved upon the walls of the chief fort of the country of Bidanore.

Having thus contributed to put this important garrison, with all its treasures, which certainly were immense, into the hands of the Company, without the loss of a single man, or even the striking of a single blow, my exultation was inconceivable; and, much though I wanted money, I can with truth aver, that avarice had not even for an instant the least share in my sensations. 'Tis true, the consciousness of my services assured me of a reward; but how that reward was to accrue to me, never once was the subject of my contemplation—much less did I think of availing myself of the instant occasion to obtain it. How far my delicacy on the occasion may be censured or approved, I cannot tell; but if I got nothing by it, I have at least the consolation to reflect that I escaped calumny, which was with a most unjustifiable and unsparing hand lavished on others. The General, it is true, promised that I should remain with him till he made some arrangements; and HYAT SAHIB offered, on his part, to make me, through the General, a handsome present. The General, however, suddenly became dissatisfied with me; and I neither got HYAT SAHIB'S present, nor ever received even a rupee of the vast spoil found there.



Here I think it a duty incumbent on me to say something of General MATHEWS, and, while I deplore the unfortunate turn in his temper, which injured me, and tarnished in some measure his good qualities, to rescue him from that unmerited obloquy which the ignorant, the interested and the envious have thrown upon his fame. Light lie the ashes of the dead, and hallowed be the turf that pillows the head of a soldier! General MATHEWS was indeed a soldier—was calumniated too; and although he did not use me as I had reason to hope he would, I will, as far as I can, rescue his fame from gross misrepresentation.

An extravagant love of fame was the ruling passion of General MATHEWS: it was the great end of all his pursuits; and while, in his military profession, he walked with a firm pace towards it, he lost his time, distorted his progress, and palsied his own efforts, by a jealous vigilance and envious opposition of those whom he found taking the same road, whether they walked beside him, or panted in feeble effort behind. This was his fault; it was doubtless a great alloy to his good qualities: but it has been punished with rigour disproportionate to the offence. Those who personally felt his jealousy, took advantage of his melancholy end to traduce him, and magnify every mole-hill of error into a mountain of crime. It is unmanly in any one—indeed it is—to traduce the soldier who has fallen in the service of his country; but it is heresy in a soldier to do so. No sooner did the buzz of calumny get abroad, than thousands of hornets, who had neither interest nor concern in the affair, joined in it. The malignant, who wished to sting merely to get rid of so much of their venom—and the vain, who wished to acquire a reputation for knowledge of Asiatic affairs at the expence of truth—united together, and raised a hum

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which reached Europe, where the hornets (I mean authors), under the less unjustifiable impulse of necessity, took it up, and buzzed through the medium of *quartos* and *octavos* so loud, that public opinion was poisoned; and the gallant soldier who, for the advantage of England, stood the hardest tugs of war, and at last drank the poisoned cup from the tyrant hands of her enemy, was generally understood to be a speculator, and to have clandestinely and dishonestly obtained three hundred thousand pounds.

On this assertion I put my direct negative. It may be said, however, that this is only assertion against assertion—True! Sorry should I be to rest it there: my assertions are grounded on such proofs as are not to be shaken—proofs on record in the office of the Presidency of Bombay.

As soon as Hydernagar was taken possession of, HYAT SAHIB immediately issued orders to the forts of Mangalore, Deokull, Ananpore, and some others in that country, to surrender to the British arms. Some obeyed the mandate; but those three resisted, and were reduced by General MATHEWS. Rendered incautious by success, our army became less vigilant, and TIPPoo retook Hydernagar; and, in direct breach of the capitulation, made the garrison prisoners, treated them with a degree of inhumanity which chills the blood even to think of, and forced General MATHEWS to take poison in prison!

Mean-time HYAT SAHIB, with whom the General had got into disputes, arrived at Bombay, and laid a charge against him, which he, being in the hands of TIPPoo, could not controvert, or even know. And what was the charge? The whole extent of it was his (MATHEWS's) having got two lacks of rupees, and a pearl necklace, as a present—a sum, considering the country and circumstances, not at all extraordinary, but which is completely vindicated



by the General's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Mangalore, the 15th of March, 1783; in which he states the present, and requests permission to accept it. This, as I said before, is on record, and was translated by Mr. SYBBALD, who was then Persian interpreter at Bombay. The letter I allude to, you will see in the APPENDIX. In short, General MATHEWS had his faults, but an unjust avarice was not amongst them.

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## LETTER LIX.

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HAVING, in my last letter, said as much as I thought justice demanded in defence of General MATHEWS, against the charge of speculation, I am now to speak of him as his conduct touched me. He was, as I have already mentioned, an old friend of my father's, and an intimate of my own: I had reason, therefore, to expect from him, according to the usual dispositions and manners of men, if not partiality, at least friendship; and in such a case as I have related, where my services gave me a claim to notice, it was not unreasonable to suppose that he would have been forward to promote my interest, by stating my services in such a manner as to call attention to them. He had, however, some disagreeable discussions with his officers; and seeing I was on a footing with Colonel HUMBERTSON, and still more with Major CAMPBELL (he who so ably and gal-

lantly

lantly defended Mangalore against TIPPoo's whole army and six hundred French), and finding me extremely zealous and importunate to have his arrangement with HYAT SAHIB adhered to, he became displeased, and, though he himself had determined that I should remain with him, changed his mind, and ordered me away at an hour's notice—many days sooner than he had originally intended to send off any dispatches. He moreover occasioned my losing a sum of money, and on the whole paid less attention to my interest than the circumstances of the case demanded.

In the evening of the day on which he determined on my departure, I set off with his dispatches to the governments of Madras and Bengal, and reached the most distant of our posts that night. From thence I had thirty miles to Cundapore, a sea-port town upon the Malabar coast, taken by us from the enemy. During this journey, which was through the country of TIPPoo SAHIB, I had only six Sepoys to conduct me : yet, such was the universal panic that had seized all classes and distinctions of people at the progress of the British arms in that quarter, I met only a few scattered Sepoys, who were so badly wounded I presume they were unable to travel—the villages throughout being completely abandoned by all their inhabitants.

The sudden change of diet, which physicians tell us, and I experienced, is dangerous, from bad to good, as well as the reverse, conspiring with the mortification I felt at seeing things going on so very contrary to what I wished, and what I had reason to expect, had a most sudden and alarming effect upon my constitution; and I was seized on the road with the most excruciating, internal pains, which were succeeded by a violent vomiting of blood. At length, with great difficulty, I reached Cundapore,

where



where the commanding officer, and all about him, did every thing in their power to afford me assistance and comfort under my miseries, which increased every hour rapidly. I felt as if my inside was utterly decayed, and all its functions lost in debility : at the same time my head seemed deranged—I could scarcely comprehend the meaning of what was said ; lifting up my head was attended with agonizing pain ; and if I had any power of thought, it was to consider myself as approaching fast to dissolution. I had the sense, however, to send to General MATHEWS, to acquaint him with my indisposition, and utter inability to proceed with his dispatches. To this I received the following letter :

“ *Bidanore, Feb. 3, 1783.*

“ DEAR CAMPBELL,

“ I am sorry to hear that you have been unwell.  
 “ Should your indisposition increase, or continue, so  
 “ as to render you unable to pursue your journey with  
 “ the necessary expedition, I beg that you will forward the letters to Anjengo by a boat, with directions to Mr. HUTCHINSON to send them per  
 “ tappy \* to Palamcotah, and so on to Madras.

“ I shall hope to hear of your recovery, and that  
 “ you’ll have gone to sea.

“ Your’s very truly,

“ RICHARD MATHEWS.”

The receipt of this letter induced me, bad as I was, to make one other exertion ; and I resolved, though I should die on the way, not to leave any thing which, even by malicious construction, could

\* Post, or express.

be made a set-off against my claims: I therefore hired an open boat to carry me along the coast to Anjengo, and set out with every prospect of having the virulence of my disorder increased, by being exposed in an uncovered vessel to the damp of the night air, and the raging heat of the sun in the day, and of being arrested by the hand of death in my way. By the time I had got down the coast as far as Mangalore, my complaints increased to an alarming height; and I became speechless, and unable to stand. Fortunately there happened to be a Company's vessel then lying at anchor off that place, the captain of which had the goodness to invite me to remain on board with him, strenuously advising that I should give up the thoughts of proceeding immediately on my voyage to Anjengo, which I could not possibly survive, and to forward my dispatches by another hand. The surgeon of the ship joining the captain in opinion that I could not survive if I attempted it, and my own judgment coinciding with their's, I at length consented, and remained there.

Tranquillity, kind treatment, and good medical assistance, produced, in the space of two or three weeks, so material a change in my health, I was in a condition to avail myself, at the expiration of that time, of a ship bound to Anjengo, and which offering the additional inducement of touching at Tellicherry, determined me to take my passage in her. When I arrived at Tellicherry, and during my stay there, the great attention shewn me by Mr. FREEMAN, the chief of that place, and the comforts of his house, restored me to a great share of health and spirits—And here a very singular circumstance occurred.



One day a vessel arrived; and perceiving a boat coming on shore from her, Mr. FREEMAN and I walked down to the beach, to make the usual inquiries—such as, where she came from? what news she brought? &c. &c. As soon as the boat touched the shore, a gentleman leaped out of it, whose person seemed familiar to me: upon his nearer approach, I discovered that it was Mr. BRODEY, a gentleman who had been kind enough to take upon him the office of my attorney, upon my leaving India some years before—not my *attorney* in the ordinary acceptation of that word, but a liberal and disinterested friend, who obligingly undertook the management of my affairs in my absence, without the smallest hope of advantage, or rather under circumstances which served as preludes to further obligations. I was certainly pleased and surprised to see him; but his astonishment to see me amounted almost to a distrust of his eye-sight: he had received such indubitable proofs of my death, that my sudden appearance on his landing, at the first rush of thought, impressed him with the notion of a *deceptio visus*. My identity, however, was too positive for resistance; and his wonder melted down into cordial satisfaction, and congratulations on my safety. He then took out a pocket account-book, in which, for security against accidents, he kept accounts-current, written in a brief manner—and shewed me mine, settled almost to the very day, upon which was transcribed a copy of a letter he had received, and which he thought was a testimony of my death. So, cutting out the account, and presenting it to me, he expressed, in the most cordial and handsome manner, his joy that it was into my own hands he had at last had an opportunity to deliver it. This gentleman is now in this Kingdom, and too well known for me

to describe him. Suffice it to say, that in England, as well as in India, he has always enjoyed the esteem and respect of all his acquaintances, to as great an extent as any other person I know.

I again embarked to proceed on my voyage, and had hardly got on board when a ship dropped anchor along side of us, in which captain CAMPBELL of Comby, a very near connection of mine, was passenger. On hailing one another, he heard that I was on board, and immediately was with me. Those who sincerely love each other, and whose hearts confess the fond ties of consanguinity, can alone conceive what our mutual pleasure was at meeting so unexpectedly in so remote a corner of the world. He was then on his way to join the army. This amiable young man, now reposes in the bed of honour at Mangalore! He fell, after having distinguished himself in the very gallant defence made by that place against the whole force of TIPPoo. With regret we parted: and in due time I arrived at Anjengo without any accident befalling me, which was rather extraordinary.

Leaving Anjengo, I set out for Madras, designing to go all the way by land—a journey of near eight hundred miles. I accordingly struck through the Kingdom of Travancore, whose sovereign is in alliance with the English; and had not long entered the territories of the Nabob of Arcot, before Major MACNEAL, an old friend of mine, and commandant of a fort in that district, met me preceded by a troop of dancing girls, who encircled my palanquin, dancing around me until I entered the Major's house.

It would be difficult to give you an adequate notion of those dancing girls. Trained up from their infancy to the practice of the most graceful motions, the most artful display of personal symmetry, and the most wanton allurements, they dance in such a style,



and twine their limbs and bodies into such postures, as bewitch the senses, and extort applause and admiration where in strictness disapprobation is due: nor is their agility inferior to the grace of their movements—though they do not exert it in the same skipping way that our stage dancers do, but make it subservient to the elegance, and, I may say, grandeur, of their air. They are generally found in troops of six or eight, attended by musicians, whose aspect and dress are as uncouth and squalid, as the sounds they produce under the name of music, are inelegant, harsh and dissonant. To this music, from which measure as much as harmony is excluded, they dance, most wonderfully adapting their step to the perpetual change of the time, accompanying it with amorous songs, while the correspondent action of their body and limbs, the wanton palpitation and heaving of their exquisitely formed bosoms, and the amorous, or rather lascivious expression of their countenance, excite in the spectators emotions not very favourable to chastity. Thus they continue to act, till, by the warmth of exercise and imagination, they become seemingly frantic with ecstasy, and, sinking down motionless with fatigue, throw themselves into the most alluring attitudes that ingenious vice and voluptuousness can possibly devise.

That such incitements to vice should make a part of the system of any society, is to be lamented: yet, at all ceremonies and great occasions, whether of religious worship or domestic enjoyment, they make a part of the entertainment; and the altar of their gods, and the purity of the marriage rites, are alike polluted by the introduction of the dancing girls. The impurity of this custom, however, vanishes in India, when compared with the hideous practice of introducing dancing boys.

The Major, after having entertained me in the most hospitable manner, accompanied me to Palamcotah, to the house of Doctor DOTT, who lived in a generous and hospitable style. I had once had an opportunity of evincing my good disposition to this gentleman, when he was most critically situated; and the reception he gave me demonstrated, that he then retained a lively sense of my conduct to him.

Leaving Palamcotah, I continued my route through Madura. This country is rendered remarkable by the revolt of the famous ISIF CAWN, who made a bold and well-conducted attempt to erect himself into the sovereignty of that province, independent of the Nabob of the Carnatic, in whose service he was: and as the affair occurs to my thoughts, I will, for your information, notwithstanding its being unconnected with my story, digress into an account of it. As soon as the revolt of ISIF CAWN was known, General MONSON, an officer of great military skill and personal merit, went against him at the head of the King's and company's troops, and invested the fort of Madura, in which that rebellious chief was posted. The general made a practicable breach, and, in storming, was beat back with great slaughter by ISIF; and the setting in of the monsoons immediately after, retarded the further operations of our army against the place; and in the interim, peace having been concluded between the courts of St. James's and Versailles, the King's troops were withdrawn.

On the recal of the King's troops, an army of company's troops was formed, to proceed against Madura, in order to reduce this gallant turbulent rebel to subjection; and the renowned general LAWRENCE being rendered incapable of actual service, and obliged to remain at the presidency by extreme



age and infirmity, the chief command devolved upon my father by seniority: he headed the expedition; and, after overcoming innumerable difficulties thrown in his way by the inventive genius and enterprising spirit of ISIF CAWN, again made a breach, which was deemed practicable by the chief engineer, now Sir JOHN CALL. An assault was made with no better success than the former; for our army was again repulsed with incredible slaughter: more than two thirds, I believe, of our European officers, were among the killed or wounded; and the death of Major PRESTON, second in command, a man endeared to the army by the possession of every advantage of person, heart and talents—an active, intrepid and able officer—aggravated the calamities of the day.

If, impelled by my feelings, or tempted by remembrance of the past, I sometimes digress from the direct path of my narrative, my FREDERICK will accompany me, not only with patience, but I dare say with pleasure: I cannot refrain, therefore, from mentioning a memorable occurrence during that siege, not only as it is somewhat extraordinary in itself, but as it relates to a very near and dear connection. Colonel DONALD CAMPBELL, who then commanded the cavalry, received no less than fourteen sword-wounds and a musquet-ball in his body—yet continued doing his duty with such cool intrepidity, that brave soldiers who were witnesses to it, expressed the utmost astonishment: upon being requested to quit the field, he replied, that as his family were provided for, he had nothing to fear; and as it was very unlikely his life could be saved, he would not deprive his country of any advantage that might be derived from his exertions for the short residue of it, but continue to the last moment at his duty. With all this firmness and

magnanimity, he was gentle, good-humoured, modest and unassuming; and was admired for his great personal beauty, as well as military talents, particularly by the Duke of CUMBERLAND, under whom he served in the war in Germany as a subaltern officer, in so much that his Royal Highness had his picture drawn. It was to him the company were first indebted for the introduction of perfect military discipline into their army in India. In the various relations in which he stood, whether domestic or public, as the subject, the citizen, the father, or the friend, he was so uniformly excellent, that the shafts of malevolence, which the best and wisest of men have but too often felt, seldom reached him; and he may justly be reckoned amongst that very small number of created beings, of whom scarcely any one had the audacity to speak ill. Upon my first arrival in India, I was put under his command, and lived in his family—when, instead of deporting himself towards me with that reserve and austerity which rank and reputation like his, coupled with the circumstance of his being my uncle, might in some sort have justified, he took me into his confidence, treated me with the greatest affection, and acted rather as the brother and the equal, than as the parent and superior; and thus his gentle admonitions had more effect in restraining the sallies of youth, and impetuosity of my temper, than the sour, unpalatable documents of a supercilious preceptor could possibly have had.

The wonderful effects of this happy temper in swaying the stubborn disposition of headstrong youth, was exemplified in another instance—of which, since I am on the subject, I will inform you. Mr. DUPRES, then governor of Madras, wrote to him about a young gentleman, in the following words:



"MY DEAR COLONEL,

"In the list of officers appointed to your garrison,  
 "you will see the name of———. This  
 "young man (nephew to Mrs DUPRES), with abi-  
 "lities that might render him conspicuous, I am  
 "sorry to say, stands in need of a strict hand. All  
 "the favour I have to request of you is to shew  
 "him no favour: keep him rigidly to his duty;  
 "and, if he requires it, rule him with a rod of iron.  
 "Should his future conduct meet your approbation,  
 "it is unnecessary for me to ask it, as you are al-  
 "ways ready to shew kindness to those who merit  
 "it."

The peculiar style of this letter made such an impression on my memory, that I am able to give the exact words. Colonel CAMPBELL, however, took his own unalterable method, mildness—treated the young gentleman in such a manner as to raise in him a consciousness of his dignity as a man, the first and best guard against misconduct—and appointed him to the grenadier company. The result was answerable to his expectations; for the young man's conduct, both as an officer and a gentleman, was such in the sequel as to reflect credit on himself and his family; and his very honourable and hopeful career was at last terminated by a cannon-ball at the siege of Tanjore.

If the veneration in which I shall ever hold this most dear and respected relative admitted of increase, it would certainly receive it from the contrast I am every day obliged to draw between him and the wretched *butterflies* who sometimes flutter round us under the name of men: for, how can I help contrasting his inflexible courage, united to angelic mildness, with the insolence of lilly-livered Hectors, who, conscious of the most abject coward-

dice, dare to give an insult, and basely skulk from honest resentment beneath the arm of the law!—fellows who, like *Bobadil* in the play, can kill a whole army with the tongue, but dare not face a pigmy in the field!—and, while they want the prudence to restrain the torrent of effeminate invective, have patience enough to bear a kicking, or a box in the ear!—who bluster and vapour to hide the trembling limb and poltroon aspect, as children whistle in the dark to brave the ghosts they dread! Beware of all such wretches as you would shun plague or pestilence. I hope you do not imagine that I have so little common sense or philanthropy as to censure those who, from physical causes or constitutional delicacy, are averse to contest: No, no—I do assure you, on the contrary, that my observation leads me to think such men, though slow to quarrel, and inoffensive in conduct, are very gallant when honour or duty demand from them a conquest over their weakness. I have, in my time, seen such men at first the sport, and at last the terror of your blustering bullies; and I have always thought, that in such a triumph over their feelings, they had more true merit than men constitutionally courageous: the latter has his valour in common with the mere animal; the other possesses the valour of sentiment. I mean that most ignominious of all beings, who, prodigal in offence, yet reluctant in reparation—who, hoping to find some person passive as themselves over whom to triumph, hazard the giving of an insult, with the malignant view to gasconade over him if he submits—and, if he repents, to wreak the whole vengeance of law upon him. In society with such men, there is no safety; for they leave you only the casual alternative to choose between shame and ruin. Him who submits, they call poltroon; and him who repents, they fleece in form of law.



law. There are others who, to bring their fellow-creatures down to their own level, brave the execrations of mankind, and the vengeance of Heaven: such harpies do exist, who, though bold enough to insult, are tame enough to receive chastisement without resistance; and, though tame enough to submit to chastisement, are so furiously vindictive as to proclaim their shame, their cowardice, perhaps in the face of an open court, in order to glut their revenge by the pillage of their adversary's purse. Let such men enjoy the fruits of their machinations, if they can—To their own feelings I consign them; for I can wish a villain no greater curse than the company of his own conscience, nor a poltroon a more poignant sting than that which the contempt of mankind inflicts upon him.

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## LETTER LX.

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PASSING through Madura, I arrived at Trichinopoly, where I met Mr. SULLIVAN, the resident of Tanjore, who very politely furnished me with a letter to Mr. HIPPESEY, his deputy at Tanjore, from whom I received many marks of civility. At that place I had the pleasure of meeting a gentleman with whom I had been at college, and for whom I had always entertained a great esteem: this was Colonel FULLARTON. It is an old maxim, that we should say nothing but good of the dead—"De mortuis nil nisi bonum." It is not

a new maxim, I believe, to avoid praising the living : I am aware of the indelicacy of it ; and therefore purposely avoid in this, as I shall in other instances, speaking the full opinion I entertain. To the general esteem in which he was held by all ranks of people in India, I refer you to Colonel FULLARTON's character : it is of such a sort, that I wish to hold it up for your imitation. At a time of life when others have arrived to some perfection in their profession, he made choice of his, and entered for the first time into the arduous military department, with a command for which the training of many years is no more than sufficient to prepare other men. The Minister of that day gave him this important charge, underwent the clamours of Opposition for it, and was justified in the event. When the Colonel came to act, so far from being deficient, his whole conduct was distinguished, not less for military talent than courage—while the most fortunate command of temper and captivating address subdued the spirit of prejudice, reconciled the most discordant, and gained him, though a King's Officer, the esteem as much of the Company's as King's troops. In short, all ranks of people, civil as well as military, whether belonging to King or Company, united in approbation of his conduct—a thing not before, nor since, but in the person of LORD CORNWALLIS.

Too much cannot be said of the advantages resulting from a proper command of temper. To promote that in my FREDERICK, will be attended with little difficulty : on the contrary, my only doubt is, that the placability and mildness of his disposition will too often subject him to imposition. JOHN is, however, of a different temper ; there is something in it which requires both admonition and good example to repress within proper bounds : to shew him the beauty as well as use of a mild, cool tem-



per, such instances as Colonel FULLARTON may be of weight, and I wish him to reflect upon it. And here I am reminded of a person and a circumstance so exactly in point, that I cannot refrain from noticing them: they convey no inadequate idea of the happiness resulting from a gentleness of nature, and dominion over the mind; and as the person I allude to is dead, I may speak of him with the greater freedom in that full strain of praise of which his shining virtues deserve.

Of all the men I have ever had the good fortune to know, Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL possessed, in the highest degree, that heavenly turn of mind, which not only is at peace with itself, but diffuses harmony and cheerfulness around it. No business, however urgent in occasion, restricted in point of time, or embarrassed with difficulty—no accident, however unexpected, or event, however sinister—none of those innumerable minutiae which fret and chafe the tempers of other men, ever suspended the cool tenor of his thought even for a moment: nothing shook the serenity of his temper—nothing deranged the presence of his mind: uniform and placid, he in all situations had the full dominion of himself, and in the field it gave him a decided superiority; nor was this felicity of nature confined to his public conduct; it attended him at the domestic enjoyments of the fire-side—at the social board—in the private recesses of his closet; and the very same habit of soul which, in his great public duties, rendered him valuable to his Country, and formidable to her enemies, gained him the admiration and esteem of his friends, the unbounded affection of his family, and the blessing of all his dependants.

An incident that occurred in my presence may serve in some measure to decipher the mind of this admirable man—I shall never forget it. Previously to his going to India, he had exerted his interest

to obtain from the East India Company some reward for my services; and, a few days before his departure, promised to speak again to Mr. DEVAYNES, Chairman of the East India Company. I waited on him on the day he was setting off; he was just about to depart, and surrounded by a numerous circle. In the midst of this bustle, and the confusion, one would suppose, inseparable from such a crisis, he recollected his promise—told me Mr. DEVAYNES had that minute taken leave of him, and he had forgot to mention me, but said that he would write to him on the subject; and, though he was at the instant on the point of moving to the carriage that was to carry him off, sat down, and with that amiable sweetness of manners and happily collected mind so peculiarly his own, wrote a letter for me to Mr. DEVAYNES—holding conversation, the while, in the most lively, engaging manner, with the persons around him. The conciseness and perspicuity of language in which this letter was couched, will serve to elucidate what I have said—I therefore transcribe it for you:

*“ St. James’s Hotel, Sept. 30, 1785.*

DEAR SIR,

“ I forgot to mention to you this forenoon, and  
 “ again to repeat my earnest wishes, you would take  
 “ the case of Mr. CAMPBELL speedily into your consideration. His sufferings were of such a nature,  
 “ and his services so meritorious, that I am persuaded, upon a fair investigation of both, you will  
 “ give him your firmest support. I have looked into  
 “ all his papers; and the testimonies of essential services rendered to the Company by him, do him, in  
 “ my opinion, the highest honour. Unless such merits are recompensed, few will risk every thing, as  
 “ Mr



“ Mr. CAMPBELL did, to promote the success of the  
 “ Company’s arms in India : but I trust you will see it  
 “ in its proper light ; and in that hope I shall only  
 “ add, that whatever acts of kindness you shew to him,  
 “ will be considered as an obligation conferred on,

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Your faithful and most obedient humble servant,

“ ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.”

“ *To William Devaynes, Esq.*”

Be assured, my dear boys, (for now I speak to JOHN as well as FREDERICK), that one act of triumph over the temper is worth a million of triumphs over our fellow-creatures, and that the perfect dominion of our mind is more advantageous and laudable than the dominion over Provinces or Nations. The one attaches merely to our corporeal part, and is buried with our dust in the grave : the other follows our immortal part, and passes with it into eternity.

On my leaving Tanjore, Colonel FULLARTON honoured me with the care of a letter to Lord MACARTNEY, then Governor of Madras—an extract of which I give you, as it applied to my business particularly :

“ *Tanjore, March 20, 1783.*

“ MY LORD,

“ I had the honour to write to your lordship on  
 “ the 8th by Captain HALLAM, who carried from  
 “ hence very large packets to you. The opportunity  
 “ of Captain CAMPBELL tempts me to trouble your  
 “ lordship, merely to inform you, that all my letters  
 “ from Bidanore ascribe in a great degree the success  
 “ of our arms in that quarter, and the *romantic* Re-  
 “ volution effected there, to the influence he had  
 “ with HYAT SAHIB, and to the proposals of surren-  
 “ der

“ der which he suggested, and transacted with the  
 “ General and Jemadar. I think it necessary that you,  
 “ my lord, may know how much the Public is in-  
 “ debted to Captain CAMPBELL, whose good fortune  
 “ in this affair has only been equalled by his good  
 “ conduct. He is perfectly acquainted with the state  
 “ of affairs on the other coast, and has seen and heard  
 “ much of our transactions here; so that no person  
 “ can give a more clear or unbiaſſed view of events.”

I had also the good luck to meet, at Tanjore, Mr. BUCHANAN, a very near connection of mine, for whom I had long entertained a sincere and warm regard. It has been my misfortune to have been obliged frequently to censure some of my relatives for ill-nature and ingratitude: I never did so without the most painful sensations. When, on the contrary, I am enabled to speak to their honour, I feel a proportionate share of pleasure: I am therefore happy in mentioning Mr. BUCHANAN as a man as amiable in his private as respectable in his public character; but the satisfaction I felt at this meeting was much alloyed by finding him in a very bad state of health.

Before I left Tanjore, I had an opportunity of being eye-witness to that extraordinary and horrid ceremony, the burying of a Gentoo woman with the body of her husband. As this is a point which has occasioned much speculation and some doubt among Europeans, I inclose you an accurate account of the ceremony, as minuted down at the time it happened.

*Description of the Ceremony of the Gentoo Women burning themselves with the bodies of their Husbands.*

“ This day,——, I went to see a Gentoo woman resign herself to be burned along with the corpse of her deceased husband.



“ The place fixed upon for this tragic scene, was a small islet on the bank of one of the branches of the river Caverry, about a mile to the Northward of the fort of Tanjore.

“ When I came to the spot, I found the victim, who appeared to be not above sixteen, sitting on the ground, dressed in the Gentoo manner, with a white cloth wrapped round her, some white flowers like jessamins hanging round her neck, and some of them hanging from her hair. There were about twenty women sitting on their hams round her, holding a white handkerchief, extended horizontally over her head, to shade her from the sun, which was excessively hot, it being then about noon.

“ At about twenty yards from where she was sitting, and facing her, there were several Bramins busy in constructing a pile with billets of fire-wood : the pile was about eight feet long, and four broad. They first began by driving some upright stakes into the ground, and then built up the middle to about the height of three feet and a half with billets of wood.

“ The dead husband, who, from his appearance, seemed to be about sixty years of age, was lying close by, stretched out on a bier, made of Bamboo canes. Four Bramins walked in procession three times round the dead body, first in a direction contrary to the sun, and afterwards other three times in a direction with the sun, all the while muttering incantations ; and at each round or circuit they made, they untwisted, and immediately again twisted up the small long lock of hair which is left unshaven at the back of their heads.

“ Some other Bramins were in the mean time employed in sprinkling water out of a green leaf, rolled up like a cup, upon a small heap of cakes of dry cow-dung, with which the pile was afterwards to be set on fire.

“ An old Bramin sat at the North-east corner of the pile upon his hams, with a pair of spectacles on, reading, I suppose, the Shaster, or their Scriptures, from a book composed of Cajan leaves.

“ Having been present now nearly an hour, I inquired when they meant to set the pile on fire : they answered, in about two hours. As this spectacle was most melancholy, and naturally struck me with horror, and as I had only gone there to assure myself of the *truth of such sacrifices being made*, I went away towards the fort. After I was gone about five hundred yards, they sent some one to tell me they would burn immediately ; on which I returned, and found the woman had been moved from where she was sitting to the river, where the Bramins were bathing her. On taking her out of the water, they put some money in her hand, which she dipped in the river, and divided among the Bramins : she had then a yellow cloth rolled partially round her. They put some red colour, about the size of a sixpence, on the centre of her forehead, and rubbed something that appeared to me to be clay. She was then led to the pile, round which she walked three times as the sun goes : she then mounted it at the North-east corner, without any assistance ; and sat herself down on the right side of her husband, who had been previously laid upon the pile. She then unscrewed the pins which fastened the jewels or silver rings on her arms : after she had taken them off, she shut them, and screwed in the pins again, and gave one to each of two women who were standing : she unscrewed the ear-rings, and other toys, with great composure, and divided them among the women who were with her. There seemed to be some little squabble about the distribution of her jewels, which she settled with great precision ; and then, falling gently backwards, pulled a fold of the yellow cloth over her face, turned her breast towards her husband's side, and laid her right



arm over his breast ; and in this posture she remained without moving.

“ Just before she lay down, the Bramins put some rice in her lap, and also some in the mouth and on the long grey beard of her husband : they then sprinkled some water on the head, breast and feet of both, and tied them gently together round the middle with a slender bit of rope : they then raised, as it were, a little wall of wood lengthways on two sides of the pile, so as to raise it above the level of the bodies ; and then put cross pieces, so as to prevent the billets of wood from pressing on them : they then poured on the pile, above where the woman lay, a potful of something that appeared to me to be oil ; after this they heaped on more wood, to the height of about four feet above where the bodies were built in ; so that all I now saw was a stack of fire-wood.

“ One of the Bramins, I observed, stood at the end of the pile next the woman’s head—was calling to her through the interstices of the wood, and laughed several times during the conversation. Lastly, they overspread the pile with wet straw, and tied it on with ropes.

“ A Bramin then took a handful of straw, which he set on fire at the little heap of burning cakes of cowdung ; and, standing to windward of the pile, he let the wind drive the flame from the straw till it caught the pile. Fortunately, at this instant, the wind rose much higher than it had been any part of the day ; and in an instant the flames pervaded the whole pile, and it burnt with great fury. I listened a few seconds, but could not distinguish any shrieks, which might perhaps be owing to my being then to windward. In a very few minutes, the pile became a heap of ashes.

“ During the whole time of this process, which lasted from first to last above two hours before we lost sight of the woman by her being built up in the middle of the pile, I kept my eyes almost constantly upon her ;

and I declare to God that I could not perceive, either in her countenance or limbs, the least trace of either horror, fear, or even hesitation : her countenance was perfectly composed and placid ; and she was not, I am positive, either intoxicated or stupified. From several circumstances, I thought the Bramins exulted in this hellish sacrifice, and did not seem at all displeased that Europeans should be witnesses of it."

From Tanjore I proceeded to Negapatnam, which had been taken from the Dutch by the Company's troops, and where Mr. COCHRAN, an old friend of mine, was Chief.

The communication by land between Negapatnam and Madras being interrupted by the enemy's troops, I embarked in a vessel, and proceeded thither by sea—Major JOHNSTON, of the Engineers, being also a passenger.

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## LETTER LXI.

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**H**ITHERTO every step of my journey has been marked by occurrences so unexpected, and accidents so extraordinary, that I should feel some repugnance to relate them, lest my veracity should be called in question, were they not attested by so many living persons of respectability, and by written documents of authority on record. Were one to consider them merely as the offspring of fiction, they would perhaps have interest enough to catch the at-



tention; but, viewing them as facts, they borrow, from their number and rapid succession, as well as from their singularity, so much of the complexion of imaginary adventure, that the combination cannot, I think, fail to interest your mind as well as your feelings.

Arrived at Nagapatnam, within a short run of Madras, it is natural for you to suppose that adventure was at an end, and that fortune, fatigued by the incessant exertion of her caprice, might have left me to proceed the short residue of my way without further molestation. It fell out otherwise: she had marked me as her game, and resolved to worry me to the last moment; for, as we approached Madras, we were chased by a French frigate, and taken near Fort St. George.

This appeared to me the greatest misfortune I had yet met with, and likely to be the most fatal in its consequences. In order to explain this, I must recur to certain circumstances, which though I was informed of them since my release from Hydernagur, I did not relate to you, because they were no way connected with my narrative till now.

MONSIEUR SUFFREIN, the French Admiral, having a number of British prisoners in his possession, whom he found it extremely inconvenient to support, made a proposal for an exchange—which, from some failure in the conveyance, or ambiguity in the terms of the correspondence, was neglected.

The motives or accidents which gave rise to this neglect have never been completely developed; and perhaps the Admiral himself, Sir EDWARD HUGHES, and LORD MACARTNEY, were the only persons who knew the bottom of that transaction. In such cases, however, the ignorance of fact is generally supplied by conjecture; and men have presumed to censure unequivocally on the mere hypothetical suggestions of  
their

their own imaginations. Candour, however, in such a case, where it could not speak with certainty, would speak with caution. An Historian, particularly, should steer clear of party rancour, and not suffer the prejudice or malignity which misled himself, to go down to and mislead posterity. Where positive proof is wanting, if we are obliged to decide, we must judge by analogy and inference; and in the case now before us, we have little but the characters of the persons concerned to guide us in our decision.

Of the horrid catastrophe which succeeded the neglect of exchanging prisoners, it is hardly possible that any one but Monsieur SUFFREIN himself could have had a conception. To suppose, that, under such an impression, our leading men would have hesitated to prevent it, would be to suppose their intellects weak, and their hearts corrupt and inhuman. I fancy it will be difficult to fasten on Lord MACARTNEY either the one or the other; for he was wise and humane: those whom the disappointment of unreasonable expectations, or the malevolence of party, have induced to suspect his Lordship's heart, have been forced by his conduct to revere his talents; and the breath of calumny has never touched the humanity of Sir EDWARD HUGHES. Whatever their motives, therefore, may have been—reason, conscience, and candour, must acquit them of the consequences. It should be recollected, too, that Monsieur SUFFREIN's character was a very probable security, in the mind of men of sense and honour, against any act of horrid inhumanity; his conduct as an officer had made a new æra in the Naval History of France: his talents and courage might be compared, without disadvantage, to those of the best of our British Admirals; and he had exhibited marks of uncommon generosity to those whom the chance of war had thrown into his hands. It would therefore have been something more than



prescience to have presupposed what actually happened; and I declare most solemnly, that the inference I draw from the whole information I have had on the subject is, that, calamitous though the event was, it attaches no positive guilt on any of the parties concerned. The fact is plainly this: The French Admiral having no place on the coast where he could secure his prisoners, and grieving, as he himself subsequently wrote to Mr. HASTINGS, to see the unhappy men, who had been six or seven months at sea, dying of the scurvy, delivered over the prisoners, to the number of above three hundred, to HYDER. Their fate afterwards was such as it would harrow up your soul to hear related.

Take the whole of the circumstances into one glance, and see what my feelings must have been on finding myself once more a prisoner. HYDER ALI, who was, when compared with the worst despots of the European world, a monster, must yet be considered, when put in comparison with his successor TIPPPOO, mild and merciful. HYDER, from policy and hypocrisy, shewed some lenity to the prisoners who fell into his hands. Instances are known where British captives have broke through the crowd that surrounded him into his presence for protection—when he has hypocritically feigned anger, threatened the persons who had treated them ill, reprobated severity, and sent them off satisfied for the present. TIPPPOO, on the contrary, was so perfectly savage, that cruelty seemed to be, not only the internal habit of his soul, but the guide of all his actions, the moving principle of his policy, the rule of his public conduct, and the source of his private gratification. Like the tyger which, BUFFON tells us, kills the whole flock before he begins to feed, every appetite of his yielded to the more urgent calls of barbarity; and while one drop of blood remained unspilled, one agony

uninflicted,

uninflicted, one tear unshed, the natural appetites of TIPPOO stood suspended, and the luxuries of life courted his enjoyment in vain. Like the hyena which THOMPSON calls the fellest of the fell, the fury of his nature was neither to be controuled by resistance, nor assuaged by blandishments. Aloof from the general order of the workings of Providence, he stands a single instance, in which the Omnipotent has presented a glowing living picture, ALL SHADE: not one ray breaks in, to relieve the gloomy aspect of the piece; but, distinct from the whole human race, of him alone it may be said, that he never yet disclosed, even for a moment, one spark of virtue.

From barbarity so inflexible to those taken in the ordinary chance of war, what could I expect if I fell again into his hands—I who had been the instrument of one of his chief Governors' defection—who had, by my negotiations, contributed to deprive him of a Province, and, what perhaps might have had greater weight with him, robbed him of the gratification of a long harboured revenge, by putting his enemy HYAT SAHIB under the protection of the Company? Diabolical vengeance never perhaps met with a subject of such sublime enjoyment, as the torturing of me would have been to this monster. Couple this, then, my FREDERICK, with the fears of SUFFREIN's doing by me as he had already done by the other English prisoners—and guess what my terror and consternation must have been at falling into the hands of the French!

Having struck our colours to the French frigate, the Captain ordered us to follow her, and steered to the northward. We obeyed him for some time: at length night fell; and, a fresh and favourable breeze fortunately aiding the attempt, we put about, ran for Madras, and luckily dropt anchor safely in the roads. In the escapes I had hitherto had, there was always



some disagreeable circumstance to alloy the pleasure arising from them—In this instance, my joy was pure and unqualified; and I looked forward with a reasonable hope that the worst was all over.

Here I found Lord MACARTNEY governor, struggling to support the credit of the Company, and directing their affairs through such embarrassments and difficulties as made the most wise and temperate despair of success. So arduous an undertaking as the government of Madras then was, has rarely occurred; and a more successful final accomplishment is not to be instanced. In the incessant conflicts to which he was exposed, he maintained his post with inflexible firmness and unabated energy of mind—and, in the most trying circumstances, discharged his important duty with zeal, integrity and wisdom. The strict discharge of the duty he owed to his country, raised clamours against him among an interested few in India; but the united applauses of all parties, on his return to England, stamped currency on his fame, and has broken the shafts of detraction.

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## LETTER LXII.

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AFTER so many hazards and hardships as I had undergone, it was a most pleasing reflection to find myself in a society composed of my oldest professional connections, and warmest and sincerest friends: but this was a happiness I could not long

enjoy ; for, being charged with a mission from HYAT SAHIB to the Governor-General and Supreme Council, I was constrained to proceed to Bengal, and accordingly set sail for Calcutta, which I reached in little more than a week, without encountering any accident, or meeting a single occurrence, worth the relation. Upon my arrival there, Sir JOHN MACPHERSON, who was in the Supreme Council, gave me a kind invitation to live at his house, and presented me to Mr. HASTINGS, with whom I entered into a negotiation on behalf of HYAT SAHIB, which will appear by the following letters :

## LETTER TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

*" Calcutta, May 3, 1783.*

*" HONOURABLE SIR,*

*" Indisposition has put it out of my power, since the  
" first day after my arrival here, to have the ho-  
" nour of paying you my respects, and of laying  
" before you, for the information of the board, the  
" objects of my mission to your superintending govern-  
" ment.*

*" As these objects are of public importance, and  
" as ill health may prevent me, for some time longer,  
" from having the honour of waiting upon you, I  
" take the liberty to beg your attention to this address.*

*" The great revolution in favour of the India  
" Company upon the west side of India, and to  
" which I had the happiness of being in some little  
" degree instrumental, has been certainly brought  
" about by the zeal and spirit of General MAT-  
" THEWS ; but that officer ascribes to the orders  
" and supplies of your government the principal merit  
" of the undertaking : he looks to the same govern-  
" ment*



“ ment for support in the arrangement which he has  
 “ made, and may make, for the security of the con-  
 “ quered province.

“ The hurry in which I left him, and his anxiety  
 “ for my speedy communication of his successes gave no  
 “ time for a formal communication to the Governor-  
 “ General and council, of the particulars of his suc-  
 “ cesses, and of the arrangements which he wished to  
 “ be adopted. He wrote a short account of the first  
 “ to the Presidency of Fort St. George; and gave  
 “ me a public letter to the Commander in Chief of  
 “ the Military Establishment of that Presidency to  
 “ which I particularly belong, in attestation of the  
 “ services I rendered in the negotiation between him  
 “ and the Governor of Bidanore, for the surrender  
 “ of that capital and province. A copy of that letter  
 “ I have the pleasure to lay before you.

“ As I was charged with a particular commission  
 “ from HYAT SAHIB, the manager of the Bidanore  
 “ province, to the Governor-General and council, as  
 “ appears by his letter, which I had the honour of  
 “ presenting to you, General MATTHEWS gave me,  
 “ in verbal instructions, and memorandums written in  
 “ his own hand, the particulars of what he wished me  
 “ to represent to your Government: he gave me,  
 “ besides, short notes of introduction to two of the  
 “ members of Government, whom he knew perso-  
 “ nally—referring them to me for an account of his  
 “ situation, and allowing me, I believe, more credit  
 “ than I deserve, for the share I had in contributing  
 “ to his final acquisition of Bidanore without drawing  
 “ a sword.

“ It would be tedious, and more fit for the detail  
 “ of conversation than of a public address, to inform  
 “ you of the various steps that led to the surrender  
 “ of the capital and province of Bidanore. I had  
 “ had several conferences with HYAT SAHIB before

"HYDER's death, and endeavour to suggest to him  
 "the advantage which would arise to him from a  
 "revolt in favour of the Company. My efforts in  
 "these conversations ended ultimately in the most ri-  
 "gorous distress to myself: I was put in irons, and  
 "remained so for four months, in a situation only of  
 "existence without any hopes of ever escaping.  
 "When General MATHEWS had stormed the  
 "Ghauts, HYAT SAHIB sent for me, and, after va-  
 "rious struggles, and much indecision, agreed to my  
 "proceeding to the English camp; and I conducted  
 "General MATHEWS, almost unattended, into Bi-  
 "danore. HYAT SAHIB at length agreed to submit:  
 "but as, in his various conversations with me be-  
 "fore and after that event, he made a very par-  
 "ticular distinction between the government of Bom-  
 "bay and the chief government of the English in  
 "Indostan, so he proposed that I should immediately  
 "depart, after he had given up the place and all the  
 "forts of the Province, with a letter to you, to ob-  
 "tain your sanction to me to his arrangements with  
 "the English General.

"These arrangements were not even clearly defi-  
 "ned before my departure; and so anxious was he  
 "for my speedy arrival at Calcutta, that he only  
 "gave me the general propositions that are contained  
 "in his letter.

"Permit me here to observe, that it is by the treat-  
 "ment which HYAT SAHIB meets with, that the  
 "other chiefs of HYDER's country will estimate the  
 "advantage of abandoning the interests of TIPPoo  
 "SAHIB, or will confirm their dependence upon him.  
 "TIPPoo was prevented by his father from all inter-  
 "course with the Governors of his provinces, or any  
 "interference in country affairs; so that those left in  
 "charge at his father's death are strangers to him,  
 "and are men to whom he has little attachment. He  
 "is, besides, considered to be of a cruel disposition.



“ His father was cruel upon a political principle : he  
 “ is thought to be so from nature.

“ The unfortunate differences about money which  
 “ arose in General MATHEWS’s camp, and of which  
 “ you will probably hear from the Presidency of  
 “ Bombay, took up much of the General’s time, and  
 “ may have retarded his operations : however, his  
 “ success in the reduction of Mangalore gives a  
 “ security to his conquests. The revenues of the  
 “ Bidanore Province are about twenty lacks of pago-  
 “ das per annum.

“ The particular situation of the capital merits at-  
 “ tention. It is placed in a valley of considerable  
 “ extent in circumference : according to the best ob-  
 “ servation I could make, there is an ascent to it,  
 “ from all sides, of near seven miles : it can only be  
 “ approached by four roads, which are cut among  
 “ the hills, and which were judiciously fortified with  
 “ great pains by HYDER : woods, to the depth of  
 “ many miles, are a frontier round its skirts ; and  
 “ where these admitted a passage, HYDER took the  
 “ precaution to plant bamboos and thorns—so that I  
 “ have little fear but that General MATHEWS will  
 “ be able to defend these passes ; and as for pro-  
 “ visions, and military stores of all kinds, that were  
 “ found in Bidanore, of the latter particularly, what,  
 “ according to General MATHEWS’s own declara-  
 “ tion, would equip nine such armies as his.

“ Cundapore is the next sea-port to Bidanore, and  
 “ is distant about fifty miles : Mangalore is distant  
 “ about a hundred miles. The road leading from  
 “ Mangalore joins with that from Cundapore, where  
 “ the ascent of the hills commence : another road  
 “ from Bidanore leads to Seringapatam, and a fourth  
 “ into the Marhatta country.

“ It was from the lower country, along the sea-  
 “ coast, between Onore and Mangalore, which is  
 “ watered by many rivers, and is the best cultivated

“ country I ever saw, that HYDER got the greatest  
 “ part of his provisions for his army in the Carnatic;  
 “ and, independent of the advantages which the  
 “ Company have gained by the acquisition of these  
 “ countries, the consequent losses of the Mysoreans  
 “ are immense, and such as will disable them from  
 “ assisting the French in the Carnatic.

“ It becomes not an officer of my rank to make  
 “ any observations that relate to the conduct of the  
 “ different governments of my employers; but I am  
 “ obliged to observe, in justice to HYAT SAHIB's  
 “ declaration to me, that he will not rely upon any  
 “ arrangement made in his favour by the Governor  
 “ and council of Bombay, unless he has a speedy  
 “ answer to his letter from this government. He has  
 “ requested me to return with that answer, and with  
 “ the sanction of the Governor-General to the cowl  
 “ given to him by General MATHEWS. Though I  
 “ am worn down by my sufferings in prison, and my  
 “ health can scarcely enable me to be carried by land,  
 “ I am ready to undertake this service; for I know  
 “ it is the greatest I may ever have it in my power to  
 “ render to the company and to my country.

“ My return to the other coast with a favourable  
 “ answer to HYAT SAHIB, will be the signal to other  
 “ Chiefs to throw off the yoke of TIPPoo; and if  
 “ Colonel LONG has made any progress in the Coim-  
 “ batore country, or that General MATHEWS has  
 “ not been too severely pressed by TIPPoo, I may  
 “ arrive upon the other coast in time to be of real use  
 “ to the company.

“ I know, Honourable Sir, the liberal and great  
 “ system of your administration: I will not, there-  
 “ fore, point out any little circumstances about the  
 “ footing upon which I should return to HYAT  
 “ SAHIB, or remain upon the other coast. I wish  
 “ only to be rewarded by my employers as I am suc-  
 “ cessful;



“ celsful ; and I shall leave it to your goodness, and  
 “ to your distinguished zeal for the public propriety,  
 “ to give me any instructions for my conduct, or to  
 “ charge me with any advices to General MATHEWS,  
 “ as you may think proper.

“ I hope you will pardon this long and irregular  
 “ address, and honour me by communicating any  
 “ part of it that you may think worthy of communi-  
 “ cation to the gentlemen of the council.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“ DONALD CAMPBELL.”

“ P. S. When you are at leisure, and I am able  
 “ to have the honour of attending you, I would wish  
 “ to communicate to you a more particular detail of  
 “ my conversation with HYAT SAHIB—what Gene-  
 “ ral MATHEWS’s hopes of support from this govern-  
 “ ment were, and the future plans he then medi-  
 “ tated—and my ideas of the measures that should  
 “ be pursued by the Presidency of Fort St. George,  
 “ to support General MATHEWS, and improve the  
 “ advantages he has gained.

“ *To Warren Hastings, Esq.*  
 “ *Governor-General of Bengal.*”

“ LETTER FROM HYAT SAHIB, ALLUDED TO IN  
 THE FOREGOING.

(Usual Introduction.)

“ I have directed the affairs of the Soobeh of Hy-  
 “ dernagur for some years past, on the part of the NAV-  
 “ VAUB HYDER. When lately attacked by the  
 “ victorious forces of the English under the command  
 “ of General MATHEWS, I opposed him, and fulfil-

“ led

" led my duty in every respect; but seeing the supe-  
 " rior fortune and force of the English, and receiv-  
 " ing proposals for peace from General MATHEWS,  
 " by these circumstances, but more especially by the  
 " persuasions of Captain CAMPBELL, the son of Co-  
 " lonel CAMPBELL, who was formerly at Chinaput-  
 " tan, I was induced to come to terms, and delivered  
 " up to General MATHEWS the treasury, property,  
 " stores and keys of the forts of this country. If I  
 " had been disposed, I had it in my power to have  
 " appropriated this collected wealth to other pur-  
 " poses; but, from a regard to the high fortune of  
 " the KING of ENGLAND, and the uprightness and  
 " integrity of the English people, I have included  
 " myself in the number of your servants, and have  
 " determined, with the utmost sincerity and purity  
 " of heart, to serve you well and faithfully. By the  
 " blessing of GOD, under your auspices, my endea-  
 " vours towards the well and full performance of my  
 " duty shall be ten-fold greater than heretofore; and  
 " as General MATHEWS intends to proceed to Sering-  
 " puttam, your loyal servant will assist, to the utmost  
 " of his ability and power. You will be fully in-  
 " formed on this subject by Captain CAMPBELL.  
 " Honour, and favour, and reward, must flow from  
 " you.

" From the time of your first establishment in this  
 " country to the present period, the engagements of  
 " the English have been sacredly performed and ad-  
 " hered to; nor have they been wanting in their pro-  
 " tection of the honour and dignity of the Surdars of  
 " Bengal, and other places. I hope, from your fa-  
 " vour and benevolence, that you will issue your  
 " commands to General MATHEWS, to favour me  
 " with all due kindness and attention. I have taken  
 " shelter under the shadow of your benevolence.



“ Captain CAMPBELL has shewn me great kindness  
 “ in this respect, and, by encouraging me to hope  
 “ for your favour, has led me to become your ser-  
 “ vant. You will be fully informed of the state of  
 “ affairs in this quarter by Captain CAMPBELL’S  
 “ letters.

“ Written on the 25th of Suffur, A. H. 1197.”

“ A true copy,

“ J. P. AURIOL, Sec.”

LETTER TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

“ Calcutta, May 25, 1783.

“ HONOURABLE SIR,

“ Some time ago, I did myself the honour of writ-  
 “ ing to you, on the subject of my mission from  
 “ HYAT SAHIB to this government.

“ It is with pleasure I now understand that you  
 “ have come to the resolution of sending an answer  
 “ to his letter. I cannot help delivering it as my  
 “ opinion, that a decided and avowed protection  
 “ granted to him from this government, will be pro-  
 “ ductive of great public utility : but should you,  
 “ and the other gentlemen of the council, think pro-  
 “ per to decline this, from motives best known to  
 “ yourselves, and of which I shall not pretend to  
 “ judge, I beg leave humbly to represent, that the  
 “ sooner HYAT SAHIB’S letter is acknowledged, the  
 “ more satisfactory it will be to him, and the more  
 “ efficacious in its probable good consequences.

“ I am ready and anxious to proceed immediately  
 “ to the other coast with the answer to HYAT SAHIB,  
 “ and shall take the liberty of hoping that you will  
 “ give

“ give me instructions to remain some time with him,  
 “ that he may have an opportunity of transmitting,  
 “ through me, any communication that he may wish  
 “ to establish with this government. I have the plea-  
 “ sure to inform you, that that Presidency to which  
 “ I particularly belong, have granted me their con-  
 “ sent to be employed in the final arrangement of the  
 “ Bidanore treaty, should your board think proper  
 “ to choose me as a fit person ; and they have further  
 “ unanimously done me the honour to approve of  
 “ my conduct in the commencement of this business.

“ With respect to the appointments you may judge  
 “ right to allow me, I trust entirely to your own ideas  
 “ of propriety. I wish for nothing more than what  
 “ is sufficient to defray the expences of such a jour-  
 “ ney, and to enable me to maintain that character  
 “ in a situation of this kind which is requisite to pro-  
 “ mote the public good.

“ I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

“ HONOURABLE SIR,

“ Your most faithful and most obedient servant,

“ DONALD CAMPBELL.”

After some delay, I received instructions, together with a letter from Mr. HASTINGS for HYAT, with which I set off in order to deliver it into his own hands, as follows :

#### LETTER TO CAPTAIN DONALD CAMPBELL.

“ SIR,

“ I have it in command from the Honourable the  
 “ Governor-General and council, to transmit you the  
 “ inclosed answer from the Governor-General to the  
 “ letter



“ letter which you brought from HYAT SAHIB, the  
 “ Fousdar of Bidanore, to this government, upon the  
 “ occasion of his surrendering that country to the  
 “ company. As you propose to return to Bidanore,  
 “ the Board request that you will deliver this answer  
 “ in person to HYAT SAHIB, with assurances from  
 “ them of every protection and support which the  
 “ eminent services rendered by him to the company  
 “ give him so good a right to expect, and which  
 “ they have it in their power to grant; and you  
 “ will acquaint him, that they have further agreed  
 “ to recommend him in such terms to the Honourable  
 “ the Court of Directors, as may encourage him to  
 “ hope for every attention from their justice.

“ Considering the great importance of the acqui-  
 “ sition of Bidanore to the company, its proportionable  
 “ disadvantage to the enemy, and the magnitude of  
 “ the object to be obtained by holding out every  
 “ possible incitement and encouragement to the Mana-  
 “ gers of the Mysore country, to throw off a new  
 “ and unsettled dependence on the enemy’s govern-  
 “ ment, in order to obtain a more secure and bene-  
 “ ficial tenure from the company’s possession, the  
 “ Board are the more readily inclined to afford this  
 “ early return to the advances of HYAT SAHIB, in  
 “ the hope that it will inspire him with fresh confi-  
 “ dence in the English government, and rivet his at-  
 “ tachment to it.

“ It will be at your option, either to return im-  
 “ mediately with HYAT SAHIB’s answer to the Go-  
 “ vernor-General’s letter, if you shall deem it of suf-  
 “ ficient consequence to require it, or to remain with  
 “ him, if you conceive that your residence there for  
 “ any time will be more conducive to the public in-  
 “ terests; but, in either case, you are desired to re-  
 “ port the particulars of your reception and proceed-  
 “ ings

“ ings to this government, with any other information which you may think it useful for them to know.

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

“ J. P. AURIOL, *Sec.*”

“ *Fort William, May 29, 1783.*”

It would be unpardonable in me to let this occasion pass, without expressing the high sense I entertain of Mr. HASTINGS's politeness, and Sir JOHN MACPHERSON's kindness and hospitality, during my stay at Calcutta. As to Mr. HASTINGS, in his public capacity, it would be presumptuous and injudicious to say much, as he now stands for the judgment of the highest tribunal in this country. My own observation leads me to consider him as a man of sound, acute and brilliant talents, and of a vast and comprehensive mind—of manners sociable, amiable, meek and unaffected—and of a disposition truly benevolent. His superior knowledge of the political interests of Indostan, and particularly of the affairs of the East India company, has never been questioned; and, if the suffrage of the people of India may be allowed to decide, his conduct as Governor-General, though, like every thing human, intermixed with error, was, on the whole, great and laudable—for I declare I scarcely ever heard a man in India, Native or European, censure him, although he was often the subject of conversation with all persons and in all companies in the East.

The social virtues of Sir JOHN MACPHERSON are so well known, that it would be superfluous to notice them. The same friendship and hospitality I experienced in his house, has been shared by many, who are not backward in doing him ample justice on that



head. But his conduct during his short administration can be known only by those who make the political concerns of India a subject of studious attention. To enter into a detail of his various wise regulations for the restoration of the company's affairs, would be destructive of the end I propose, which is, by a concise and simple summary of the whole, to render a fair picture of his administration so clear as to be understood by any person, however ignorant he may be of the politics of that country, and so brief as not to discourage the reading of it.

Sir JOHN MACPHERSON took the reins of government into his hands on the first of February, 1785. He found the company's revenues diminished, and their expenditure increased, by the continual claims of Proprietors, Directors, and Ministers, to a share in the patronage of Mr. HASTINGS—and a public debt accumulating to an enormous amount. He therefore saw the necessity of putting in practice every expedient possible, and trying every experiment that the state of the country suggested, as likely to promote an increase of the revenue, a diminution of the public expenditure, and a liquidation of the debt. He, therefore, on the fourteenth day of his administration, commenced a reform, which he continued with indefatigable zeal and industry to introduce through the various departments of government—and, beginning with himself, discharged his body-guards. While he was thus employed in India, the Company and Parliament in England were unremittingly engaged in considering and molding into shape a system of reform also; and, extraordinary as it may appear, the fact is, that the sagacity of Mr. MACPHERSON had adopted by anticipation, and actually reduced to practice, the identical speculative reforms which the Parliament and Company were proceeding upon in England; and the general plan of reform which passed the court of direc-

tors on the eleventh of April, 1785, had been actually carried into execution by Sir JOHN MACPHERSON in Bengal, in the months of February, March and April, 1785. He made arrangements for the diffusion of knowledge—established the settlement of Pulo Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island—settled the bank of Calcutta on a firm basis—regulated the markets—and, by a plan of his own conception, secured the Company from the accustomed fraudulent compositions with Zemindars, by bonding their balances, and making the bonds cancelable only by the Court of Directors. In fine, he introduced and carried into effect a system of reform which had a most sudden and salutary effect on the British affairs in India; and in an administration of only eighteen months, he had the felicity to perceive the fruits of his wisdom and industry maturing—to receive that best of earthly rewards, the esteem and applause of his fellow-citizens—and to be honoured by the best of Sovereigns with the dignity of a Baronet.

While I was at Sir JOHN MACPHERSON's house, I happened, in conversation one day with Mr. MACAULEY, Sir JOHN's Secretary, to be talking over some part of my adventures; and found to my astonishment, that he had, in his route to India, accidentally hired the very servant whom I had lost at Trieste by sending him for letters to Venice; and Mr. MACAULEY assured me, that he found him possessed of all the good qualities I had expected to meet in him: but the poor fellow had died before my arrival at Calcutta, to my great mortification and disappointment.

As the season in which I was to leave Calcutta was very unfavourable for a voyage by sea, and the coast thereabouts is one of the most inhospitable in the world, I set off by land for Madras, and in my way had an opportunity of surveying that curious and grotesque



grotesque monument of superstitious folly, called the Jagranaut Pagoda. It is an immense, barbarous structure, of a kind of pyramidal form, embellished with devices cut in stone-work, not more singular than disgusting. Christian idolators, in forming types and figures of divine beings, always endeavour to represent them with personal beauty, as proportionate to their divine nature as human skill can make it. Those Pagans, on the contrary, in forming their idols, cast out every vestige of beauty—every thing that, by the consent of Mankind, is supposed to convey pleasing sensations; and, in their place, substitute the most extravagant, unnatural deformity, the most loathsome nastiness, the most disgusting obscenity. It is not in language to convey an adequate idea of their temples and idols; and if it was, no purpose could be answered by it, only the excitement of painful and abominable sensations. To keep pace with the figures of their idols, a chief Bramin, by some accursed artificial means, (by herbs, I believe), has brought to a most unnatural form, and enormous dimensions, that which decency forbids me to mention; and the pure and spotless women, who from infancy have been shut up from the sight of men, even of their brothers, are brought to kiss this disgusting and misshapen monster, under the preposterous belief that it promotes fecundity.

In this Pagoda stands the figure of Jagranaut, (their god under Brama); and a slightly figure it is truly!—nothing more than a black stone, in an irregular pyramidal form, having two rich diamonds in the top by way of eyes, and a nose and mouth painted red. For this god, five hundred priests are daily employed in boiling food, which, as he seldom eats it, they doubtless convert to their own use in the evening.

I stopped at Vizagapatnam for a few days with Mr. RUSSEL, who was chief of that place. His style of

living was so exactly similar to that of an elegant family residing at their country-house in England, that I felt myself more happy and comfortable than I had been since my arrival in India; and that happiness was much increased by meeting Mr. MAXTON, who was married to Mr. RUSSEL's daughter. This gentleman and I had, when mere boys, been shipmates on our first going out to India: a warm friendship took place between us, which has met with no interruption, but rather increased from lapse of time, and greater habits of intimacy. To see a man whom I so entirely esteemed, in possession of the most perfect domestic felicity, and surrounded by a number of amiable connections and friends, was to me a subject of the most pleasing contemplation.

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## LETTER LXIII.

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LEAVING Vizagapatam, I took my route along the coast, and arrived at Masulipatam, where I heard rumours of the unfortunate fate of General MATHEWS. This threw such a damp upon my spirits, that all the hospitality and kindness of Mr. DANIEL, the chief, could scarcely raise me from despondence; and on my arrival at Madras, I found the whole amply confirmed.

As HYAT SAHIB's affair yet remained unsettled, and I considered myself in a degree pledged to obtain him some satisfaction for his services in surrendering the province of Bidanore, and to fulfil my

engagements



engagements with him and the Supreme Council, I determined to proceed to Bombay, notwithstanding the disaster of General MATHEWS, which had entirely crushed all my private prospects in that quarter, and to co-operate with HYAT SAHIB in such measures as might yet remain to us for promoting the public good. I left Madras, therefore, and prosecuted my journey without any material interruption until I reached Palamcottah, where the chagrin arising from my various disappointments, co-operating with fatigue and climate, threw me into a fit of sickness, which confined me to my bed for five or six weeks. Upon recovering a little, I crawled on to Anjengo, where, at the house of Mr. HUTCHINSON, the Resident, (who treated me with cordial kindness), I waited for an opportunity of getting to Bombay, and during that time laid in a stock of strength and spirits: at length a Europe ship touching at Anjengo on her way to Bombay, I obtained a passage and proceeded.

At Bombay I found HYAT SAHIB, it having been deemed expedient to send him away from Bidanore on the approach of TIPPoo with his army, where I received from him a confirmation of what I have stated respecting General MATHEWS receiving only two lacks of rupees and a necklace. And now, as peace was negotiating between us and TIPPoo, and my remaining on the Malabar coast could be of little use, I determined to return to the Carnatic. And here I have an incident to add to the many disagreeable occurrences of my life, in which, with intentions the most innocent, I was made the subject of obloquy and unmerited scandal.

Just at the time I was leaving Bombay, a young lady, the daughter of a person formerly of high rank in India, and now a member of Parliament, but whose name it would be useless to mention, wished to return to the Carnatic; and I, at the request of herself, and

another lady with whom she lived, unguardedly took charge of her during the journey. Before our departure, I reflected upon the difficulties and impropriety of this step, and communicated my ideas to the ladies, who, instead of listening to the objections I started, pressed me to fulfil my promise: I consented, purely from principles of politeness and good-nature. During the course of our journey, she unfolded to me, of her own accord, certain acts of cruelty and injustice she had suffered from her father, at the instigation of her *mother-in-law*, with a story of her innocence having fallen, and her reputation having been destroyed, by a connection of the lady under whose charge she was, and who for that reason had pressed her departure with me; and added, she was so disgusted with India, that she determined to quit it; and entreated me to assist her in the accomplishment of her wishes. I disapproved, in the most unqualified terms, of her project—gave her the best and most disinterested advice—and, through the whole disagreeable business which was imposed upon me, acted merely with a view to her honour and happiness; and several of the most respectable people in Palamcotah, where she passed some time, and at Madras, where she afterwards resided, could attest the delicacy of my conduct towards her, as well as the concern and interest I took in every thing that was likely to be of advantage to her.

This is a fair statement of the matter; and yet, on account of it, I was most infamously scandalized; and the scandal reached even the ears of my father, whom, however, I soon satisfied on that head. But that which stung me to the quick was the conduct of some of my own relations, (who, if they even could not justify or approve, ought at least to have been silent), in becoming the most virulent of my detractors—though, when the character of those very relations had on former occasions been re-



flected upon, I stood up and defended them at the imminent hazard of my life. Such conduct appeared to me most atrocious; for, whether from affection, selfishness, or pride, I always strenuously supported my relations, if I heard them traduced in their absence—and, when I was not able to justify their proceedings, at least suppressed the conversation. To a man who had uniformly acted so, were there even no reciprocation of family affection, mutual justice demanded different treatment from that I experienced, which could have sprung only from depravity of heart, poverty of intellect, and the most abject meanness of spirit. And what is remarkable on this, as well as on other occasions, those who had been under the greatest obligation to my father and myself, were the most inveterate.

On the death of my father, looking over his papers in the presence of the Deputy Sheriff of Argyll, and three other gentlemen, we met with a letter on the subject from the young lady's father to mine, reflecting in a gross manner on my character. I directly wrote to that gentleman, explaining the whole affair, and demanding justice to be done to my reputation. Upon an eclairecissement of the matter, he wrote to me a complete apology, acknowledging that he had acted on that occasion through misrepresentation, and had too easily given credit to ill-founded reports; and saying, that as the letter in question had, by the perusal of the Deputy Sheriff and other gentlemen, in some measure become a matter of public notoriety, he thought it incumbent on him to make that apology, and to express his sincere regret for any detriment I might have sustained, by his yielding unguardedly to a sudden impulse of passion, caused, as he was then perfectly convinced, by misinformation.

Thus was my character at once cleared of a calumny which the industrious villany of a few had contrived

trived to propagate through every spot of the earth where I was known.

This story may serve as an instructive lesson to you, my FREDERICK, to avoid, in the very first instance, any connection with women that in the probable course of things can lead to private acts of confidence: they are at best indiscreet—tend, as in this case, to make a man a dupe—and never fail to lead to scandal and reproach. You will also, from the letter of the lady's father, found eight or ten years after it was written among my father's papers, see the impropriety and hazard of committing your thoughts incautiously to paper. I have known it frequently, as in this instance, end in mortification and regret.

Before quitting entirely the Malabar coast, I took a trip to Surat, which amply repaid me for my trouble. It surpasses any part of India for extent and variety of commerce, for populous streets and suburbs, and for a continually moving scene of opulence. For a more minute account of it, I refer you to the Abbé RAYNAL, who, though not generally accurate, is so elegant, that you will be able, from his description, to form a lively conception of the place, and its singular customs.

Here I was received in a very friendly manner by Mr. SETON. And indeed I may now once for all declare, that at every place where I stopped, and every post I passed, from my leaving England till my return, I experienced the most kind and liberal reception, and the most assiduous attention: my wants of every kind, whether of vessels, boats, guards of Sepoys, letters of introduction, &c. being supplied by anticipation, I had scarcely occasion to make a request, or express a wish; nor was the attention shewn to the public service less than that which was manifested for my private convenience. To kindness so truly con-

solatory



solatory as it then was to me, I never look back without sentiments of unbounded gratitude and unfeigned acknowledgment.

My journeys by land in India after my shipwreck, independent of long voyages by sea, amounted to more than three thousand miles. After getting back to Madras, my health being materially injured, I resolved to return to England : but, having seen almost all the Company's possessions, I felt a curiosity to see China, and determined to make that my way. To render this route more agreeable to me, Lord MACARTNEY, in addition to his other favours, gave me the following handsome letter of introduction to Mr. Pigou, the Company's chief supercargo at Canton :

*" Fort St. George, July 23, 1784.*

" SIR,

" This letter will be delivered to you by Captain  
 " DONALD CAMPBELL, of this Establishment—a  
 " gentleman who has signalized himself on many oc-  
 " casions, but more particularly by his ability and  
 " address in accomplishing the surrender of the fort  
 " of Bidanore, at which place he had been long a  
 " prisoner. His ill state of health contracted there,  
 " renders a voyage to China, perhaps to Europe, ab-  
 " solutely necessary. Should he remain any time at  
 " your Settlement, I shall be much obliged to you  
 " for any attention and civility shewn to him ; and I  
 " shall be happy, on any occasion you may afford me,  
 " of returning your polite attention to an officer of so  
 " much merit as Captain CAMPBELL, and of proving  
 " how much I am,

" SIR,

" Your most obedient and most humble servant,

MACARTNEY,

" To William Henry Pigou, Esq."

I had also a letter to Mr. FREEMAN, another Supercargo there ; by whom, as well as by Mr. PIGOU, I was treated with great politeness : and Mr. FREEMAN being obliged to leave Canton, and go to Macao, for the recovery of his health, invited me to accompany him there. I availed myself of the opportunity ; and, as we went all along through the rivers, had an opportunity of seeing more of the country than many of the Europeans who visit that country. With the observations which I made in the course of this excursion and my residence at Canton, I would furnish you, but that Lord MACARTNEY's embassy is just returned from that country ; and there is every reason to hope that he, or some of the gentlemen who attended him, and who possess superior abilities and more ample materials, will favour the public with a much more perfect account than mine could possibly be.

While I remained at Canton, a very disagreeable rupture took place between the Factory and the Chinese. An English ship lying at Wampoa, in saluting, shattered a Chinese boat ; by which accident, two men in it were much hurt with the splinters, and one of them died of his wounds soon after. The matter was clearly explained to the Mandarins ; and they seemed to be satisfied that it was merely an accident. A few days after, the Supercargo of the ship was forcibly seized, and carried into the city : the Council met, and determined to send for the sailors from the ships ; and in the evening after dark, fifteen or sixteen boats, with four or five hundred men attempted, in an irregular manner, to come up to Canton—were fired upon by the Chinese boats and forts in passing, and, with a few men wounded, were compelled to retreat. Nothing could surpass the consternation and indecision of the Council ; and after the most humiliating language, they were obliged to



appease the Chinese, and settle the affair by giving up the gunner of the ship to their resentment.

On the 29th December, 1784, I embarked in the Ponsborne East-Indiaman, Captain HAMMET, in which I had come from Madras to China; and, after a tolerable voyage of five months and two days, got on board a fishing-boat off Falmouth, and was put on shore there, having been exactly four years and five days from England.

Such was my impatience to see you, that I wrote from Falmouth for you to meet me at Bath. We arrived there the same day; and never in my life did I experience such transports as in first pressing you to my bosom: I found you all that my heart could wish; and I must, in justice to my opinion, aver, that not one action of your life has tended since to give me a moment's pain: on the contrary, I have every reason to be satisfied that my sanguine hopes of you will be realized. The turn of your thoughts and actions have been vigilantly watched and closely examined by me; and from your affection to myself and your mother, your gentle deportment to my domestics, your frankness and candour with your brother and school-fellows—even from your fondness for your favourite dog *Pompey*, and frequent silent contemplations of the etchings of his countenance, I have drawn the most pleasing presages of purity and innocence of heart, sweetness of temper, and refined honour and generosity. If it pleases God to spare your life, and strengthen your constitution, I shall still be the happiest of men, notwithstanding the inroad made upon my feelings by the hardships and afflictions I had undergone, of which many arose from unavoidable accident, and some from malignant and unnatural persecution, arising from base envy, dictated by cowardly revenge. I do not wish you to know who the wretches are: I only wish you to know that such detestable passions

passions do exist in human nature—that, warned by their wickedness to me, you may, in your progress through life, be cautious, temperate and guarded.

Another thing I am anxious to impress upon the mind, particularly, of your brother JOHN, is the danger of a warm, impetuous temper. Many of the hazards and difficulties of my life arose from the predominance of a fiery spirit, and an ungovernable, mistaken ambition. A single instance will serve to shew it. When I was under the command of Captain, afterwards General MATHEWS, in his regiment of cavalry, being cantoned at a place called Tuckolam, in the neighbourhood of extensive woods, information was brought us that wild bulls infested the neighbouring villages, and had killed some people: we prepared to enter the wood, and destroy, if possible, those ferocious animals, which had become the terror and destruction of the contiguous country. The origin of those wild herds was this—From time immemorial, a religious custom had prevailed among the Pagan inhabitants, of offering a calf to the wood upon the accomplishment of any favourite purpose, such as the safe delivery of his wife, or the obtaining an employment, &c. In process of time, those calves bred, and became numerous and incredibly fierce. Independent of protecting the defenceless natives, it was in itself a most interesting kind of hunting. The mode of doing it was this—A large party, well mounted, galloping in a body up to a great flock, and marking out the fiercest champion of the whole, attacked him with swords and pistols. One day, a bull which was wounded, and thereby rendered more fierce, though not less vigorous, got posted in some thick bushes, in such a manner as to be approached only in front: a whim of the most extravagant kind came into my head, suggested by vain-glory and youthful fire—I thought it ungenerous for so many to attack him at



once; and, wishing to have the credit of subduing him, I dismounted from my horse, and attacked him with a pike: I soon, however, had cause to repent this rash and unwarrantable step; it had nearly been fatal to me—for the bull soon threw the pike into the air, and, had it not been for the very gallant exertions of my brother officers, who rode in upon him, and rescued me at the moment that the brute's horns had touched my coat, I must have been killed. An Indian officer, who was in my troop, particularly distinguished himself, at the imminent hazard of his life, the bull having tossed his horse and himself to a distance from his horns. At this time I was but eighteen years of age, and had not the judgment to reflect, that if I had been killed, my fate would be attended with only pity or scorn for my folly; whereas, had I succeeded, the whole reward of my danger would have been the useless applause of some youngsters, idle and inconsiderate as myself—while my rashness would have been reprobated by every man whose good opinion was worth enjoying. One or two people who were present at the time, are now living in great repute in England. We succeeded, however, in driving those wild cattle into the interior recesses of the wood, dividing the flesh of those we killed among such of the poor Sepoys as would eat it, and thereby rendered essential service to the contiguous villages.

Often when I have heard, in coffee-houses and play-houses, some of our sporting sparks boasting of their prowess over a timid hare or a feeble fox, I could not help recollecting with respect the hunters of India, who chase the destructive monsters of the forest—the boar, the tyger, the hyena, the bull, or the buffalo; and, while they steel the nerves, animate the courage, and, by habitual deeds of pith, fit themselves for war, render essential service to their fellow creatures, and

save the lives and property of thousands. Such greatness of spirit, under the controul of good sense, and the direction of prudence, must render a man respectable—but, if not managed with discretion, leaves a man no other praise than that of a magnanimous madman. Take every opportunity, my dear FREDERICK, of inculcating these precepts in the mind of your brother: the natural warmth of his temper often makes me fearful of the mischievous consequences which I have myself too often experienced—though, I thank God, it never stimulated me to revenge, or to a premeditated intention of injuring any one.

I have already said more than once, that I have a most perfect conviction your amiable disposition will ensure to you the love of mankind; but it will at the same time subject you to many impositions—to guard against which, a great share of sternness is sometimes necessary: there is, besides, a certain degree of fortitude absolutely requisite to give lustre to a gentle disposition; without it, meekness is thought timidity—modesty, weakness—and the charming mildness of the forgiving heart, abused as the pitiful resource of abject apprehension and a mean spirit. There are times, therefore, when the wickedness of men, and the customs of the world, make it necessary to lay aside the lamb, and assume the lion. EUROPE at this moment presents an awful and alarming crisis. In a neighbouring country, the conduct of the higher classes of society has produced a dreadful convulsion: social order has been subverted, and the stability of property annihilated: all reasoning from the history of former times is found inapplicable to the present: the system of warfare itself has undergone a revolution; and no man is able to say from positive inference, “Thus will it be to-morrow.” Our insular situation, thank God! protects us: and the precarious footing upon which civil order and property stand in most countries on the continent, make our state in England enviable.



The time is nevertheless pregnant with extraordinary event; and you are now approaching that age at which men should be ready to act at the call of their country. It is therefore fitting for you to make such things the subject of frequent contemplation—to habituate your mind to the meeting of danger, so as to be ready, at a moment's warning, to lay down your life, if necessary, for the good of your country; for, after all, my FREDERICK, what avails it whether we die in this way or in that?—to die with honour and a good conscience, is all. Let prejudice be laid aside—and who, possessed of common sense, could hesitate a moment to prefer death in the field, to death with the loathsome aggravation of sickness, the crocodile tears of pretended friends, and the painful emotions and lamentations of those who really love us?

Finally, I must observe, that at the time I left India, the affairs of the British Nation wore so very lowering an aspect, all persons acquainted with our concerns there, allowed nothing but a long series of wise measures, with the best efficient servants to execute them, could rescue the company from ruin. I am happy in being able now to state, without the possibility of contradiction, that the clouds which menaced us in that quarter have since been gradually dissipating beneath the measures of the BOARD of CONTROUL, under the direction of Mr. DUNDAS; and are at last entirely dispersed by the glorious administration of Lord CORNWALLIS, whose wisdom in the cabinet tended no less to the security, than his military talents, justice and moderation, to the honour, of GREAT BRITAIN in the East. The choice of such a person for the government of India, reflects credit on HIS MAJESTY'S Councils, and evinces that the paternal care and solicitude of our amiable SOVEREIGN extend to the most remote part of the Empire.

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# A P P E N D I X.

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*LETTER FROM GENERAL MATHEWS,*

TO

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST  
INDIA COMPANY.

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(REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING LETTERS.)

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HONOURABLE SIRS,

I HAVE the honour of informing you of the success of your arms on the Malabar coast. You will have received advices of the outset of the expedition from Bombay, and the general purport of it. On the 12th of December, I sailed with a small party; and thought proper, of my own accord, to land at Rajamundroog, in preference to any other place—because, on this part of the coast, I had the double advantage of being able to secure myself until reinforced, and to procure provisions, which I could not have done at Cundapore, or any place to the Southward, by reason of the numerous garrisons, and the vicinity of them to the capital. The measures and dispositions of the gentlemen at Bombay were such, that I could not place any dependence upon being timely reinforced from thence, or of having any supply of provisions. Rajamundroog is on the top of a high hill, and commands the entrance of the best river on the coast. We took it by storm. The moment we landed, a short time was taken up in preparing to move towards Onore; for we had not a cooly, carriage, or bullock, to convey any stores. The battering cannon, ammunition, provisions, &c. were sent by sea; and the great additions that HYDER had made to the fortifications of Onore and fortified Island, prevented my entering the river with



the small craft, and obliged me to land every thing through a heavy surf on the beach, and then to cross the river to the Northward of the fort. These impediments were got over; and a practicable breach being effected, the assault was made—and the garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, were either killed, drowned, or made prisoners.—Shortly after this event, the troops from the Southward, under Lieutenant Colonel MACLEOD, were landed at Rajamundroog. To wait for a junction, would take up much time: so, that not a moment should be lost, I embarked, and landed near Cundapore, under the fire of the Bombay Grab and the Intrepid, and immediately seized a small fort that served to secure our stores. The enemy were in fight, and seemed numerous: some prisoners that we took, reckoned them at twelve hundred horse, one thousand Sepoys, and five hundred Peons. My party was composed of three hundred and fifty Europeans, six hundred Sepoys, and four small field-pieces—with which I marched, first towards the enemy, who drew back, and then I proceeded to Cundapore. They incommoded my rear very much; but being determined to attack the fort, I only acted on the defensive, and at seven in the evening got possession of the fort, and the several redoubts that commanded the river. The grand object of the expedition, an attack upon Bidanore, remained to be undertaken; and much serious reflection it required before the hazardous enterprize should be determined on.—Your Honours will now take a view of the state of my army: No carriage-bullock, and the few draft not able to draw eight light field-pieces—not a cooly to carry musquet, ammunition or provisions—not a tent—and many officers, His MAJESTY'S in particular, had not a single servant—neither bullock or sheep to be had, the enemy having drove them off. The army, at this time, consisted of about eleven hundred effective Europeans, and three thousand Sepoys. The distance from Cundapore to the foot of the Ghaut is thirty miles, through a woody country: the enemy's army had been reinforced, and lay in the way. The reports of the strength of the various works that defended the pass up the mountains, was such as gave me but very faint hope of success; and the difficulty of supplying my troops with rice, was almost of itself sufficient to deter a person from the attempt. However, having positive orders to take possession of Bidanore, I resolved to make a trial, and issued directions for the march. We had not gone six miles, before the enemy opposed us in force. We pushed forwards; and, by the effect of well served artillery, and the steadiness of the men, the enemy retired as we advanced. The skirmish continued about three hours—after which we were left to pursue our route unmolested; nor did the enemy make any stand till we were on the fourth day's march, within three miles of the pass—where

the ground being favourable, they attempted opposition, and were roughly treated, losing, by the bayonet and shot, above three hundred men. They were pursued to a small fort, which was immediately abandoned; and then fled to the first barrier or entrance of the pass. This was a line of masonry that covered all the open ground, and was closed by woods to the right and left. Upon six bastions were mounted fifteen pieces of cannon; and on the left was a work on a steep mountain fifteen pieces of cannon; and on the left was a work on a steep mountain, with two twelve pounders. This altogether had too formidable an appearance to attack in front; but having reconnoitred the right, I imagined that the flank might be turned by ascending the hill through the wood. Early in the morning, two parties were formed—one to attempt the flank, the other to escalade the wall; but the enemy saved us that trouble by evacuating the place. This was a happy moment to try the pass; for the enemy, by felling trees, &c. would have thrown so many obstacles in the way, that the want of provision would have compelled me to relinquish the design. A party was instantly ordered to follow the enemy up the hill, which, with little loss, gained the second barrier, on which were mounted eleven guns. Fifty of the enemy were killed or taken at this work. Having this success, I relieved the exhausted by fresh detachments, which excited emulation, and encouraged the ardour of the Sepoys; for, to the unremitting exertions of this branch of your troops is due the honour of this day. Battery after battery was taken; and the possession of the fort on the top of the Ghaut, about five in the afternoon, called Hyderghur, crowned the whole. At this fort we found mounted thirty pieces of cannon, from twenty-four to four pounders; and at the different works in the pass, forty others, from four to twelve.

When we contemplated the numerous redoubts and the height of the Ghaut, and were told by prisoners that we had drove off seventeen thousand men, including dismounted cavalry, regular Sepoys, and match-lock Peons, we could not consider the victory we had gained as due to us—our weak efforts would have been in vain. The progress of your arms is to be ascribed to the Divine will. In the course of this war, Providence has been peculiarly bountiful—When we were in want of rice, we were sure to find a supply left for our use by the enemy—when our musquet-ammunition was expended, the enemy's magazines furnished us abundantly—cannon we found in every sort, and such quantities of warlike stores, that we are apt to suppose that HYDER supplied all his garrisons from this coast and from Bidanore. Hyderghur is about fourteen miles from Hydernagar, *alias* Bidanore, the capital of the Province.



In the night of the day that we gained the Ghaut, I was visited by Captain DONALD CAMPBELL, the son of Colonel CHARLES CAMPBELL. He had been wrecked off the coast, was seized, and kept in irons, until the approach of this army caused the Jemadar to release him, to employ him as an Ambassador. His message was, that the Jemadar having lost his Master (HYDER), and being upon bad terms with TIPPOO SAHIB, would willingly put himself under the protection of the Company, provided that the management of the country was continued to him. The idea of getting possession of the capital and the forts of the kingdom towards Seringapatam, as well as the very great advantage I might expect from his experience, abilities and influence, with the weak state of my army, induced me to close with the proposal; and I sent him a cowl, signifying that his power and influence should not be lessened. This, tho' not drawn with a pen of a lawyer, was equal in value to the capital of Bidanore. Captain CAMPBELL returned with it, and was to tell the Jemadar that I should march in the morning.

Not expecting the great success that we had met with by forcing the pass on the main road, I had detached Lieutenant-Colonel MACLEOD to the left to ascend the Ghaut through a narrow path, in order to attack Hyderghur in the rear. The absence of this detachment, and the fatigue of the former day, reduced my party to about four hundred Europeans and seven hundred Sepoys; and all my guns were at the bottom of the Ghaut. With this detachment I moved towards Bidanore, and was within a mile of the walls before any message came from Captain CAMPBELL or the Jemadar: but having nothing to apprehend in the field from the panic-struck enemy, we continued our march until the welcome approach of Captain CAMPBELL assured me the place was our own. On entering it, I was pleased to see about four hundred of your Sepoys that had been taken in the Carnatic, who offered me their service. Upon visiting the Jemadar, I repeated my assurances, that while he behaved faithfully to the Company, the management of the country should be continued to him; and, although the sword must be in your hands, that he should have as much power and influence as his station required, and that you would not refuse settling upon him very ample allowances. The enemy being in force, and my army much weakened, with other disagreeable matters that occurred, prevented my further advance than to take possession of two forts to the Eastward; for, being apprehensive that the Killidar of Mangalore would not deliver up that place to the order of HYAT SAHIB, and considering that famous sea-port of more consequence to your affairs than acquiring territory beyond the mountains, I held myself in readiness to march that way, and was forced to lay siege to it. A practicable breach being made,

the Killidar thought proper to surrender it. Upon this happy event give me leave to congratulate you; for it partly secures our conquests from Carwar to Cananore. There are two or three places that I have not been able to summons; but as these garisons cannot expect any succour, they will fall of course.

Thus have I given your honours a short recital, from the first landing of your arms on the 12th of December, to the reduction of Mangalore on the 9th of March; in which short time a series of success has attended us that can hardly be paralleled. All the enemy's marine has fallen in our hands, among which are eight ships of the line, either built or on the stocks; and five of them might be sent to sea in a short time. After informing you of the happy and glorious success of your arms, it is painful for me to tell you, that dissention in the army, on account of plunder and booty, has arisen to such a height as to threaten open mutiny. I have informed your Honours of the terms that the Jemadar required, and that I in your name granted; and you know in how peaceable a manner this capital was resigned to you. I am sorry to say, that His MAJESTY's officers have been foremost in the clamours; and that the agents appointed by them have occasioned me much trouble and anxiety, and a great deal of discontent throughout the army. I shall send you copies of the several letters that have passed, for your determination. They may suppose that I have appropriated treasure to my own use, or bargained to restore the private property of the Jemadar to him; or that I should agree that he should call all treasure and jewels his private property, to the exclusion of what of right should belong to the Honourable Company or the captors. I have only to assure your Honours, that I have made no bargain whatever, either public or private, but what was expressed in the cowl sent from Hyderghur, to which Captain CAMPBELL was witness; and as I have frequently mentioned to my friends, that I would not receive a present of consequence without the consent of the Honourable Company, I shall inform you, that on my first visit the Jemadar insisted on making me a present of a lack of rupees; and when he pleased to give a donation to the army of two lacks and thirty thousand of rupees, which sum waits your pleasure, he requested I would accept of another lack of rupees. To both of these requests respecting myself, I replied, that provided your Honours would give me leave, I should certainly embrace that fortunate moment to gain an independence, and shall wait your orders as to the disposal of two lacks of rupees. How far my former and the present services may entitle me to your good opinion, and to your acquiescence in thus rewarding me, is left to the generosity of your Honours; but I beg that you will believe, that, during the course of my services, every thing of a similar nature shall be laid before you.



If it were possible to satisfy the avidity of a body of men, this little army would have a sufficiency of honour and profit to fill the most greedy; but the infirmities of nature are not to be controuled by reason. Avarice of the most pernicious tendency has pervaded the limits of sense, and stepped beyond the bounds of duty. The army, not content with acquiring, at the different places that has been taken on the coast in ships of war, naval stores, merchandize, &c. &c. and in goods of various kinds at Bidanore, which altogether the Jemadar says may be valued at thirty lacks of pagodas; they seek to deprive the Jemadar of his private property, under pretence of the lawful rights of war; and assume a style and manner in their clamours and united addresses, that appears intended to force from me what I think ought to be preserved for the public service, and for the benefit of the Honourable Company. The manner that the fort and city was delivered to the Company, does not authorize me to touch private property; and the cowl implies a perfect security for all such. Would your honours be pleased, that by any rapacious action of your Commander in Chief, that he or the troops should forfeit the good opinion that may be entertained of them from their rapid success, or that the public service should be considered as a secondary object? Our name has fallen almost to contempt; but, as far as lays in my power, it shall be recovered, if not raised to its former eminence.

*Mangalore, March 16, 1783.*

THE END.



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# C O N T E N T S.

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## P A R T I.

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### LETTER I. Page 17.

Introductory.

### LETTER II. Page 20.

Ridiculous Effects of Ignorance, exemplified in a whimsical Story of two Dublin Aldermen.

### LETTER III. Page 25.

Author's Motives for going to India. Melancholy Presentiments. Caution against Superstition. Journey to Margate. Packet. Consoled by meeting General LOCKHART on board. Lands at Ostend.

### LETTER IV. Page 29.

Short Account of the Netherlands. Conduct of the Belgians. Ostend described. Wonderful Effects of LIBERTY on the Human Mind, exemplified in the Defence of Ostend against the Spaniards.

### LETTER V. Page 33.

Caution against using Houses of Entertainment on the Continent kept by Englishmen. Description of the Barques. Arrives at Bruges. Gross Act of despotism in the Emperor. Imprisonment of LA FAYETTE.

### LETTER VI. Page 39.

Description of Bruges. Reflections on the Rise and Decay of Empires. Chief Grandeur of the Cities of Christen-



## LETTER XXI. Page 122.

Tyrol Country. Story of Genii leading the Emperor MAXIMILIAN astray. Innsbruck.

## LETTER XXII. Page 127.

Tyrolese. Innsbruck. Riches of the Franciscan Church there. One Mass in it sufficient to deliver a Soul from Purgatory. Hall. Curiosities at the Royal Palace of Ombras. Brisen. Valley of Bolfano. Trent.

## LETTER XXIII. Page 132.

Description of the Bishopric of Trent. Obvious Difference between Germany and Italy. Contrast between the Characters of the Germans and Italians. Council of Trent. Tower for drowning Adulterers. Bassano. Venice.

## LETTER XXIV. Page 137.

General Description of Venice, and Reflections on the Venetians.

## LETTER XXV. Page 144.

Concubinage more systematically countenanced in Venice than London. Trieste. Loss of servant and Interpreter. Sail for Alexandria. Zante.

## LETTER XXVI. Page 149.

Adventure at the Island of Zante. Alexandria. The Plague, and an Incurfion of the Arabs. Pompey's Pillar, Cleopatra's Obelisk, &c. Island of Cyprus, Latichea. Aleppo.

## PART II.

## LETTER XXVII. Page 163.

Description of Aleppo.

## LETTER XXVIII. Page 169.

Short Account of the Turkish Constitution and Government.

## LETTER XXIX. Page 176.

Account of Turkish Constitution and Government continued. Moral Character of the Turks.

## LETTER XXX. Page 181.

Prejudices of Christian Writers, and their Misrepresentations of the Turkish Morals and Religion. Vindication of the latter.

## LETTER XXXI. Page 187.

Vindication of the Turks continued. Description of a Caravan, Page 40. Account of Ceremonies used by Pilgrims at Mecca, Page 48.

## LETTER XXXII. Page 202.

Aleppo continued. Frequent Broils in the Streets.

## LETTER XXXIII. Page 208.

Aleppo continued. Coffee-Houses. Story-tellers.

## LETTER XXXIV. Page 214.

Aleppo continued. Puppet-shews. Raraghuze, or Punch, his Freedom of Speech and Satire.

## LETTER XXXV. Page 221.

Disagreeable Adventure, which occasions a sudden Departure from Aleppo.

## LETTER XXXVI. Page 228.

A plan of Travelling settled. Tartar Guide. Departure from Aleppo.

## LETTER XXXVII. Page 236.

Description of Tartar Guide. His conduct. Arrival at Diarbeker. Padan Aram of Moses. Scripture Ground. Reflections. Description of the City of Diarbeker. Whimsical Incident occasioned by Laughing. Oddity of the Tartar.

## LETTER XXXVIII. Page 242.

Strange Traits in the Tartar's Character. Buys Women, ties them up in Sacks, and carries them 50 Miles. Reflections



lections on the Slave Trade. Apostrophe to the Champion of the oppressed Africans.

LETTER XXXIX. Page 248.

Extravagant Conduct of the Tartar, which he afterwards explains satisfactorily. Extraordinary Incident and Address of the Tartar, in the Case of Santons.

LETTER XL. Page 254.

Explanation of the Affair by the Santons. Bigotry. Reflections.

LETTER XLI. Page 261.

Arrives at Mosul. Description thereof. A Story-teller. A Puppet-show. The Tartar forced to yield to Laughter, which he so much condemned. Set out for Bagdad. Calenders—their artful Practices.

PART III.

LETTER XLII. Page 267.

Arrives at Bagdad. Whimsical Conduct of the Guide. Character of the Turks. Short Account of Bagdad. Effects of Opinion. Ruins of Babylon. Leaves Bagdad. Attacked by Robbers on the Tigris.

LETTER XLIII. Page 275.

Arrives at Bassora. Account of that City. Leaves it, and arrives at Busheer. More Disappointments. Bombay. Goa. Gloomy Presentiments on leaving Goa. A storm.

LETTER XLIV. Page 282.

Shipwreck.

LETTER XLV. Page 288.

The same.

LETTER XLVI. Page 294.

Made Prisoner by some of HYDER ALLI's Troops. Humanity of a Lascar. Hardships. Meets a Friend. Mr. HALL.

## LETTER XLVII. Page 299.

Mr. HALL's Misery aggravated by the Loss of a Miniature which hung at his Bosom. Sent under a guard up the Country.

## LETTER XLVIII. Page 305.

Arrives at Hydernagur, the Capital of the Province of Bidanore. Brought before the Jemadar. Committed to Prison.

## LETTER XLIX. Page 311.

History of HYAT SAHIB. Called upon to enter into the Service of HYDER, and offered a Command. Peremptorily refuses. Another Prisoner, a Native. Court of Justice. Tortures and Exactions. Mr. HALL declining fast.

## LETTER L. Page 319.

Mr. HALL's affecting Story.

## LETTER LI. Page 326.

Pressed to enter into the Service of HYDER ALI. Refusal. Threatened to be hanged. Actually suspended, but let down again. Still persists in a Refusal, and determined to undergo any Death rather than enter. Projects a Plan to excite a Revolt, and escape.

## LETTER LII. Page 332.

Project to escape defeated. Laid in Irons. Intolerable Hardships. Death of Mr. HALL.

## LETTER LIII. Page 338.

Melancholy Situation. Cruelty. Released from Prison. Account of HYDER, and East Indian Politics in general.

## LETTER LIV. Page 343.

East Indian Politics continued.

## LETTER LV. Page 347.

Account of HYDER, and Indian Politics continued. General MATHEWS's Descent on the Malabar coast. Mounts the Ghauts. Approaches towards Hydernagur. Author's Delight at getting into the open Air. Delivered by an unexpected Encounter from his Guards.



## LETTER LVI. Page 354.

Returns to the Fort, and proposes to the Jemadar to give it up to the English. Proceeds to the English Camp.

## LETTER LVII. Page 360.

Meeting with General MATHEWS. Returns to the Fort with a Cowl. Delivers it to the Jemadar. Leads General MATHEWS into the Fort, and brings him into the Presence of the Jemadar. English Flag hoisted. Vindication of General MATHEWS from the Charge of Peculation.

## LETTER LVIII. Page 366.

Sets off for Bengal. Cundapore. Unable to proceed. Letter from General MATHEWS. Proceeds in an open Boat for Anjengo. Stopped by Sicknefs at Mangalore. Tellicherry. Anjengo. Travancore. Dancing Girls. Palamcotah. Madura. Revolt of ISIF CAWN.

## LETTER LIX. Page 372.

Trichinopoly. Tanjore. Burning of Gentoo Women with the Bodies of their Husbands. Negapatnam.

## LETTER LX. Page 384.

Leaves Negapatnam. Taken by a French Frigate. Horrible Reflections. SUFFREIN. Character of TIPPoo SAHIB. Escape. Arrives at Madras.

## LETTER LXI. Page 393.

Passage to Bengal. Negotiation for HYAT SAHIB. Mr. HASTINGS. Sir JOHN MACPHERSON. Hears from MACAULEY, Sir JOHN's Secretary, of the Servant I lost at Trieste. Jagranaut Pagoda. Vizagapatnam.

## LETTER LXII. Page 398.

Masulipatam. Arrives at Madras. Determines to proceed on HYAT's Business to Bombay. Reaches Palamcotah. Takes sick. Recovering, crawls to Anjengo, and thence to Bombay. Resolves to return again to Madras. Adventure with a young Lady. Surat. China. Bath. Conclusion.

